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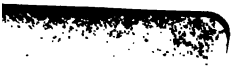

SELECTED LETTERS
OF THE YOUNGER PLINY

86

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SELECTED LETTERS

OF

THE YOUNGER PLINY

EDITED BY

ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL

ROBERT-RICH PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE.

THE text of the present edition is constituted on the basis of new and complete collations of most of the manuscripts cited, and of the careful study to a greater or less extent of many other manuscripts of the Letters. The collations were made during the course of two journeys on the continent of Europe, one in 1895, and another (of fourteen months) in 1898-99, which were chiefly devoted to this task. I desire to acknowledge the great kindness and courtesy shown by Father Ehrle, Prefect of the Vatican Library, by the Prefect and other officials of the Laurentian and Riccardian Libraries at Florence, and indeed by all the authorities of collections of manuscripts to whom I have had occasion to appeal for permission to carry on my work.

The collation of cod. Vrbinas lat. 1153 (Vaticanus, cited as **u**) I owe to the skill and accuracy as well as the patient interest of my wife, whose keen eyesight and attention were also expended on the yet duller task of reviewing carefully my own collations of cod. S. Marci 284 (Laurentianus, cited as **F**), and cod. Ashburnhamensis 98 (Laurentianus, olim Riccardianus et Beluacensis, cited as **B**). My collations of

cod. Ottobonianus lat. 1965 (Vaticanus, cited as **o**), of cod. Mediceus XLVII. 36 (Laurentianus, cited as **M**), and of cod. Vaticanus lat. 3864 (cited as **V**), have been subjected to only my own revision. In the case of the letters to and from Trajan I have personally determined the readings of the Avantius edition of 1502 (cited as **A**), and of the Aldus of 1508 (cited as **a**), from copies of these books in my own possession. I have not yet been able to examine in person the manuscript letters and readings discovered by Mr. E. G. Hardy in the Bodleian Library, and described by him in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. XVII., and in his edition of Pliny's correspondence with Trajan (L., 1889), but I have cited some of the readings as given by him in these works (referring to the MS. as **O**). Other manuscripts or early editions are but occasionally quoted.

A school-edition of only selections from the letters is no place in which to defend the editor's principles of textual judgment, or even to describe them at length. For a full judgment of the relative value of MSS. only the comparison of complete collations can suffice. I must therefore be permitted to refer the reader for these questions to a critical edition of the complete correspondence for which the greater part of the material is already in order, and which I hope to publish at no distant date. I may remark here that the tradition of **BF**, supported as it so often is by **a**, appears to me generally preferable to that of **MV**. Accordingly for the letters after V. 6, where the testimony of **BF** ceases, I am still forced in many

cases to prefer the testimony of **a** to that of **M**, in spite of the fact that the text of **a** has undergone some editorial revision. In general it seems to preserve in the later books the tradition carried through the hundred letters by **BF**. I am unable to agree with Keil's estimate of the value of cod. Dresdensis D. 166, which I have therefore referred to but seldom. Nor can I believe that if Keil had had a larger acquaintance with the fifteenth century MSS. that contain eight books, he would have preferred to cite the early printed editions (1471 and 1474), which are apparently for the most part mere reproductions in type of MSS. of the same century, with considerable emendation and interpolation (the edition of 1474 is of course an exception in regard to Book VIII.). I have accordingly, after considerable comparison, selected and cited Ottob. lat. 1965 and Vrbinas lat. 1153 as fair representatives of this class of MSS., though I cannot attach much value to them. The whole question of the antecedents and interrelation of the 'eight-book manuscripts' is exceedingly involved, and needs more careful and extended study than a student resident to the west of the Atlantic, so far removed from the manuscripts, can possibly put upon it. In the correspondence with Trajan I have been impressed with the importance of the readings of the Bodleian manuscript and notes discovered by Mr. Hardy, especially when they agree with the Aldus edition. Either Peter Leander, who furnished Avantius with his copy of the letters to and from Trajan, or else the actual copyist of the letters, must have

been as careless in copying as his loss of the sheets containing his transcript of X. 1-40 would seem to imply; for the editing and the printing are not likely to be responsible for so many errors as the edition of Avantius evidently contains. An appendix gives the instances in which the readings of the text in this edition differ from those in Keil's critical edition of 1870.

In citing a selection of the MS. readings at the foot of each page of the text, my purpose has been to give for the most part only such readings as might in themselves have at least a sort of plausibility to some minds. I might also remark that I have seen no good reason to perpetuate Keil's practice of indicating the correspondence with Trajan by a separate title and not as 'Liber X.', in the face of the testimony to a ten-book MS. of the preface and text of the first Aldine edition, and of the title of cod. Beluacensis (B), which latter work was, however, rediscovered among the Ashburnham manuscripts after Keil's edition was issued.

In the notes I have tried to be reasonably exact in statement, and sufficiently complete, so that the student, and mayhap the teacher, who cares to study them at length may end his reading with a better start in the understanding of Roman life in Pliny's time than most school text-books try to give. But as the book is likely to be used, at least in this country, by tolerably mature students, I have not thought the notes too elaborate for their interest. They contain in brief form the results of a good many small investiga-

tions, and the somewhat full index may perhaps render them available for reference at other times than the first reading.

I have never thought the introductory pages of a school edition of a classic author the best place for a display of the bleached and arid bones of his grammatical and stylistic framework, laid out in classified order before the student's repugnant vision. Such work appears to me, like long discussions of textual matters, to find its proper position in separate articles or treatises. I trust I shall not unduly offend the judicious by following my own fancy in this regard, and relegating my ossuary to an inconspicuous position at the end of the book. The letters included in this selection show most of the peculiarities of Pliny's grammar and style. I have referred in the notes to the more striking instances as they occur, with more or less cross-references, and have added at some expense to my own feelings a classified index to these matters, which I hope will serve for the student all practical purposes.

I owe much gratitude to my wife, and to Professor Charles Knapp of Columbia University, who have very zealously and unselfishly given me the benefit of their suggestions and assistance in proof-reading as these pages have been going through the press.

ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL.

MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT,
July 25, 1902.

QVATTVOR sunt, inquit Eusebius, genera dicendi: copiosum, in quo Cicero dominatur, breue, in quo Sallustius regnat, siccum, quod Frontoni adscribitur, pingue et floridum, in quo Plinius Secundus quondam et nunc nullo ueterum minor noster Symmachus luxuriatur.—MACROB. v. 1. 7.

VT, si quae litterae paulo politiores uaria occasione fluxerunt, prout eas causa persona tempus elicuit, omnes retractatis exemplaribus enucleatisque uno uolumine includam, Quinti Symmachi rotunditatem, Gai Plinii disciplinam maturitatemque uestigiis praesumptuosis insecuturus.—APOLL. SIDON. Ep. I. 1. 1.

INTRODUCTION.

THE caprice of time has left us singularly ignorant of the life of Rome in Trajan's era. We have, indeed, to help us in the study of that restoration epoch, a few imposing monuments, a few coins and inscriptions, two or three dull historical epitomes of late date, but all else has vanished except the works of a handful of contemporary writers whose primary purpose was to image for us something else than the history of their own day. Yet the selection of Trajan as colleague by the amiable but aged and ailing Nerva made Rome breathe deeply with the joyful relief of assured freedom. And Trajan, with all his share of human foibles and faults, evidently justified the confidence Rome felt in him from his earlier career. He redeemed her arms from the shame of Domitian's reign, and enlarged her boundaries by brilliant campaigns and wise diplomacy to an extent never surpassed. He reformed abuses in the provinces and checked the rapacity of governors. At home he set on foot great organized benevolences, fostered trade and industry, constructed immense works of public beauty and utility, and restored freedom of speech and thought and life. Rome had reason to

feel that now for the first time monarchy and liberty were proved to be not inconsistent terms. The reign of Trajan was the dawn of new life for the capital. He made the winter of her discontent a glorious summer.

It is the task of the historian to point out why of this glorious summer we have so faint a picture. We know the period must have been a most busy one, and there are many sides to its life that arouse our interest. But in whatever direction curiosity leads us we sooner or later come to an impassable and impenetrable veil that time has stretched across the pathway. What was the character of Trajan's daily life in Rome? What the details of those campaigns on Rhine and Danube, in Dacia and the East? Even the chronological outlines are shrouded in doubt. More interesting and more important than these are the questions that concern the life not of the favoured few, but of that great mass of the middle and lower classes of society, so-called, whose modes of thought and action, whose aspirations and point of view, whose underlying convictions and beliefs, whose pleasures and pains alone can help us to understand society in its true and technical sense, and to recompose for ourselves the picture that Pliny had before him every day,—and did not care to look at. But we are left again in doubt and ignorance, for the lines of satirist and epigrammatist are no surer guide to a knowledge of the people of that day than the pages of the penny-dreadful novel or of the 'yellow' newspaper to the life of the present age.

Pliny, indeed, is the only writer of the time who affords us any great help in our search, and he within but a limited field. For he was born out of the level of the great populace that made Rome, and he lacked the adventurous spirit of philosophic initiative that might have carried him away from the level of his birth to study the lives of others. He enjoyed life so thoroughly within the narrow range of the company of his peers as never to feel its limitations. Indeed, the time of sociology as a science—or as a religion—was not yet. Most men were too much occupied in the external pleasures of their new-born summer to think very gravely or study very deeply.

Pliny—often called the Younger (*minor*) to distinguish him from his uncle, the author of the Natural History[1]—was not born in Rome. He was a native of Comum, son of a certain L. Caecilius L. f. Cilo,[2] who apparently died while yet a young man, after filling the office of *quattuorvir aedilis*[3] in his municipality. Those who like may imagine that he was therefore connected by blood with that Caecilius of Comum who was a friend of the poet Catullus, and himself a poet.[4] Pliny was born within the last four months of 61 A.D., or the first eight of 62; for he tells us[5] that he was in his eighteenth year at the time of that great eruption of Vesuvius that destroyed Pompeii (Aug. 24, 79). To his

[1] III. 5 (Sel. 24). [2] Gruter 376. 5; Mommsen. *Étude*, p. 31.
[3] X. 79. 3 (Sel. 100) n. *censoribus*. [4] Cat. 35.
[5] VI. 20. 5 (Sel. 46).

father's name Pliny owed only his *gentilicium*, for his *cognomen* Secundus came from the mother's side, as was the frequent fashion in names of this day, and his *praenomen* was not Lucius, but Publius, the father's *praenomen* going in due form to an elder brother, L. Caecilius L. f. Valens, who must also have died young, as we hear nothing further of him.

P. Caecilius Secundus, then, was the original name of the boy, who at his father's death was not yet of adult years, and, indeed, was probably a mere child. He never speaks of his father in his extant works. His mother still survived, but by the father's will a guardian was selected for him in the person of a neighbour, who was one of the most distinguished Romans of the day, since he had held the crown within his grasp and had declined to wear it,—Verginius Rufus.[1] What the school and home training of the boy was during the years of his minority must be inferred chiefly from the personality of his guardian and of his maternal uncle. He was in later years of a quick and sympathetic disposition of mind, such as would take instruction readily and receive easily the impress of a mould. Verginius does not appear to have been much of a student, but Pliny says he displayed toward him the love of a parent throughout his life, and the younger man never lost his unbounded admiration and respect for the elder. From this reverence for and training under Verginius Pliny must at least have gained high and dignified ideals of civic duty and noble conceptions about the

[1] II. 1. 8 (Sel. 15).

Rome of earlier days, such as were traits of his mind later in life.

But if Verginius was not likely to furnish him with the highest intellectual stimulus, that was not lacking in his formative years. His mother's brother, C. Plinius Secundus, also a native of Comum, was pre-eminently a bookworm. He was also a man of wealth, and an active man of affairs. Very few men could combine these three characteristics as he did. He had entered public life at an early date, and finally rose through various procuratorships to the intimate friendship of Vespasian, and one of the highest positions in the equestrian *cursus honorum*, the prefecture of the fleet of Misenum. His learning was immense, his studiousness prodigious, and his literary style something to be shuddered at. But of this last point his nephew was, and apparently continued to be, happily oblivious. Indeed, there are some indications that he may have contented himself with admiring his uncle's colossal works instead of reading them,[1] for which he surely ought to be pardoned. How much he lived under his uncle's eye and tutelage cannot be determined, but some things may be guessed. There are no indications that he resided much with Verginius, who, indeed, seems to have lived in marked seclusion in the country during the later part of his life, where a boy of position could hardly be brought up conveniently and well. Moreover Pliny shows in every line and feature of his being, in every trait of his character and habits, the

[1] IX. 33 (Sel. 69).

result of early and intimate acquaintance with the capital, and with the fashionable and official society of the capital. His uncle's official position made Rome the centre of his work, especially after he became prefect of the fleet, and one cannot go far astray in judging that the widowed sister and her son made their home with him, as they certainly were doing in August, 79, the time of his death. At that moment, too, the younger man, who had however doubtless assumed before this the *toga uirilis*, was studying under his uncle as tutor,—and indeed through all his writing, in his studious habits and appreciations, happily, rather than in his style, he shows the traces of his uncle's influence.

What influence his mother had over him it is hard to say. He speaks of her directly only once, in his account of the eruption of Vesuvius in 79.[1] And once he mentions that Calpurnia Hispulla, his young wife's aunt, revered his mother as her own.[2] The absence of more reference on the part of a man of such an affectionate and plastic temper might indicate that the mother was not of a very marked personality.

At Comum Pliny could not have had any schooling beyond what could be afforded in his own family.[3] Like other well-to-do boys of the town he may have been sent to Milan, but probably Rome became his home by the time he was nine or ten years old. Here he doubtless went through the regular Roman training in Latin and Greek in the school of the

[1] VI. 16, 20 (Sel. 45, 46). [2] IV. 19. 7 (Sel. 34).
[3] IV. 13. 3 (Sel. 33).

grammaticus, and perhaps developed some rather unusual facility in Greek versification, as he tells us that at the age of fourteen he wrote what 'was called' a Greek tragedy.[1] When he had passed to the training of the *rhetor*, his chief instructors were Nicetes Sacerdos[2] and the great Quintilian.[3] Philosophy he also studied, and with his usual ready enthusiasm mourns even in later life that the stress of public business keeps him from that pursuit.[4]

His bachelor uncle on his death in 79[5] left him his heir, adopting him in his will. From this time on Pliny took his uncle's name, as in duty bound, retaining however his original *gentilicium* in addition to that of his uncle, instead of adding it, as in Republican fashion, as a second *cognomen* in the derivative form in *-anus*. His name, therefore, became C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus. The previous identity of *cognomina* made no change necessary there. His uncle's death doubtless increased largely the wealth he had inherited from his father, which in itself embraced large estates both at Comum[6] and on the borders of Etruria near Tifernum Tiberinum.[7] To this was later added also his mother's property,[8] and legacies from various people.[9] Pliny was moreover a shrewd, though not ungenerous, manager of his

[1] VII. 4. 2 (Sel. 47).
[2] VI. 6. 3.
[3] VI. 6. 3; II. 14. 10 (Sel. 20).
[4] I. 10. 9 f. (Sel. 7).
[5] VI. 16 (Sel. 45).
[6] VII. 11. 5.
[7] IX. 36. 1 n (Sel. 70).
[8] VII. 11. 5.
[9] III. 6. 1; V. 1. 1; VII. 20. 6 (Sel. 51).

property, which doubtless did not decline on his hands in spite of public[1] and private[2] beneficences.

With wealth, enthusiasms, taste for publicity, and a wide circle of influential friends, Pliny was not satisfied to remain in private life, nor could he content himself, as his uncle (like the great Maecenas) had done, with the career of a simple *eques*. Accordingly, within a short time after his uncle's death he began the course that looked toward a senatorial career. The first office in this *cursus honorum* was the quaestorship, which, however, could not be held before the age of twenty-five, nor until the candidate had qualified himself by a term in one of the four administrative boards in the city's civil service that were made up of such young men (*decemuiri stlitibus iudicandis*, *quattuoruiri uiarum curandarum*, *triumuiri capitales*, *triumuiri monetales*), and further by some brief experience in garrison, if not in active campaigning, as *tribunus militum* (*laticlauius*, or *honores petiturus*).

The civil duties Pliny discharged as *decemuir stlitibus iudicandis*,[3] and thus, by assisting the praetor in presiding over the centumviral court, gained his official initiation into the procedure of that body which was to furnish him his especial *arena* as an advocate.[4] He had, to be sure, already pleaded his first case, at the early age of eighteen,[5] but perhaps before the praetor's court.

[1] I. 8. 2; IV. 1. 5; V. 7. 3; VII. 18; IX. 39 (Sel. 71); X. 8 (Sel. 77); and inscription on p. xl.

[2] I. 19; II. 4; III. 11. 2 (Sel. 26); 21. 2 (Sel. 20); VI. 32.

[3] See inscr. on p. xl. [4] VI. 12. 2; III. 21. 5. [5] V. 8. 8.

The nominal term of military service as tribune (six months[1] or a year) carried him out of the country to Syria,[2] and gave him training, if not in war, at least in the methods of financial bureaux,[3] in the management of which he later had unusual experience.[4] To the office in the 'vigintivirate' he never refers; that in garrison he frequently mentions, since there he made many friends both in the service[5] and among the professors of philosophy, whose acquaintance he had time to enjoy.[6] Nor did he apparently find himself too busy to cultivate also the more tuneful muses.[7]

After his return to Rome he was appointed *sevir* of the *equites*,[8] an office of nominal honour, which at least, or perhaps at most, gave an opportunity for appearance in a stately function at the annual parade of the knights, and very likely gratified Pliny's love for antique survivals. And from this time he was building up his reputation at the bar as one of the best pleaders of his day.

The quaestorship did not come to him at the minimum age of twenty-five, but at twenty-seven or twenty-eight (June 1, 89 to May 31, 90).[9] But when it did come, it was with a mark of the emperor's especial favour, for he was one of Domitian's

[1] IV. 4. 2. [2] I. 10. 2 (Sel. 7); III. 11. 5 (Sel. 26).
[3] VII. 31. 2. [4] See p. xxv.
[5] VII. 16, 31. [6] I. 10. 3 (Sel. 7); III. 11. 5 (Sel. 26).
[7] VII. 4. 3. [8] See inscr. *l.c.*
[9] See Mommsen's determination of dates of quaestorship, tribunate, and praetorship in his *Étude*, pp. 53-63.

personal nominees, to assist him in his proconsular duties.[1]

Under ordinary circumstances a year must elapse between the holding of two successive offices of the senatorial *cursus honorum*, and two years between the last and highest offices, the praetorship and the consulship. But a father of three children,—or any other man by special grace of the emperor,—might be dispensed from this waiting (or under certain restrictions even from waiting until the full attainment of legal age for any given office). Thus Calestrius Tiro, Pliny's colleague as the emperor's quaestor, was advanced to the next step in the *cursus*, the tribunate of the plebs (in place of which the curule aedileship might be substituted), at the first moment, by virtue of the *ius trium liberorum*,[2] while Pliny, having no children, and perhaps being yet unmarried,[3] had to wait the full time, thus filling the office from December 10, 91 to December 9, 92 The tribunate was a mere phantom of its former self, its holders being completely overshadowed in their functions by the 'tribunician power' (*tribunicia potestas*) exercised by the emperor, and Pliny made no effort to revive its obsolete functions in any practical way. But he satisfied his predilection for forms by abstaining from the practice of his legal profession during his year of office, that he might become involved in no disputes that would compromise his sense of antiquarian dignity.[4]

[1] VII. 16. 2.
[2] II. 13. 8 n. (Sel. 19).
[3] X. 2 (Sel. 74).
[4] I. 23 (Sel. 14); *Pan.* 95.

Between the tribunate and the praetorship Pliny did not have to wait the usual year, for the emperor's special grace relieved him of that otherwise legal necessity.[1] He therefore became praetor almost immediately (on January 1, 93) upon laying down the tribunate, and continued therein for that year which marked Domitian's attempt to crush the Stoic opposition, the irritation, and as the emperor thought the danger, of which had then reached its culmination. Among Pliny's warm personal friends were many of the prominent men of that 'opposition.' Whether he tried to do, or could have done, anything to save them from their fate is doubtful. He had not in his constitution the stuff that martyrs are made of, and the only thing he can point to at a later date as an act in assistance of his persecuted friends is the accommodation with a sum of money and with the sympathy of a personal visit (but outside of the city) of the philosopher Artemidorus, against whom personally no action was directed.[2] Pliny's friendship, therefore, cost him little, though he tries, not very successfully, to make out in after years that he was himself then and later in great danger.[3] But the facts seem to be against his contention. He had been advanced by Domitian's special favour; he was discreet enough to keep reasonably quiet during his praetorship,[4] except for the first of his great legal cases before the senate, the impeachment of Baebius Massa;[5] and

[1] VII. 16. 2. [2] III. 11 (Sel. 26).
[3] III. 11. 3 (Sel. 26); VII. 27. 14 (Sel. 54); 33.
[4] *Pan.* 95. [5] III. 4. 4; VI. 29. 8; VII. 33. 4

immediately after his praetorship the emperor showed him further confidence and favour by making him one of the three prefects of the military treasury.[1] If three years later an accusation against him by the infamous informer, Mettius Carus, was found in the archives of Domitian after that emperor's death,[2] its presence proves only that Carus would have liked to involve Pliny in the fate of his friend Senecio. There is no certainty that the accusation was of late date, or that the emperor had not simply declined to act upon it, and accordingly filed it away. It is true that Pliny in later years, and in a distinctly *ex-parte* statement,[3] suggests that Domitian would have promoted him to the consulship (to which indeed he would have been eligible without special grace only in 96), had he himself been a more obsequious courtier. But a prefect of the military treasury commonly served three years, and quite probably then only could usually expect promotion to the consulship. And Pliny's term as prefect certainly could not have expired before 96, the year of Domitian's death. It is much to be feared that after Domitian's death Pliny tried to make out the best case possible for himself, whereas during Domitian's reign he was entirely *persona grata* with the emperor, and his discretion held his sympathies in proper check.

But the accession of Nerva, and especially the adoption of Trajan, was a great relief to him as to many of the aristocracy. He attempted to bring to

[1] IX. 13. 11 (Sel. 64) n. *praefectum aerarii*; inscr. p. xl.
[2] VII. 27. 14 (Sel. 54). [3] *Pan.* 95.

the bar of legal vengeance Publicius Certus, who had been the accuser of the ill-fated Helvidius, and though the emperor, in pursuance of his policy of peace, quietly declined to allow the prosecution, Certus at any rate lost his post as prefect of the treasury of Saturn, and the hope of the coveted consulship.[1] And Regulus too was made to fear Pliny's anger, though nothing seems to have come of it, and there appears to have been indeed little evidence that could have been brought against him.[2]

Public finances had been left in a very bad way at Domitian's death. Nerva among other provisions had a special commission appointed to devise methods of decreasing the expenditures of the state,[3] and it is perhaps owing to the need of careful and experienced officials in the financial administration that he asked Pliny, who had already served a term as prefect of the military treasury, to undertake the prefecture of the treasury of Saturn. The case of Pliny is apparently the only one known where the same man filled both these offices.[4] The nomination was hardly made when Nerva died, and Pliny entered upon his new prefecture in the next autumn, or possibly in the late summer of 98, some months after Trajan's accession.[5]

His services were generously recognized by a pro-

[1] IX. 13 (Sel. 64). [2] I. 5 (Sel. 4).
[3] II. 1. 9 (Sel. 15). [4] Mommsen, *Étude*, p. 65.
[5] See the editor's article "On the Date of Pliny's Prefecture of the Treasury of Saturn" in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. XXIII. No. 4.

motion to the suffect consulship for the *nundinum* (probably of two months) beginning September, 100. The address of thanks to the emperor delivered according to custom before the senate on assuming the chair, he later elaborated and published,[1] and it, under the title of *Panegyricus*, is the only one of Pliny's speeches that has been preserved to our time. It contains much matter of personal or historical interest, but is too florid and a bit too fulsome, for modern or for Ciceronian taste.

Of the prefecture of Saturn's treasury Pliny had doubtless been relieved soon after taking up the consulship, and on laying down the consulship he was able for the first time since entering upon public life to enjoy a few years of repose from official duties. He did, to be sure, within three or four years after his consulship, in what seems to have been the usual order, ask Trajan for appointment to one or the other of the vacancies existing on two out of the four great priestly colleges which were highly coveted prizes for *consulares*.[2] In reply he received the chair in the college of augurs that had been filled by his revered friend, Sex. Iulius Frontinus; and Pliny is doubly gratified because his great oratorical model, Cicero, had also been a member of the same college.[3] A position also of honour but likewise of much labour and responsibility came to him a little later in the shape of the presidency of one of the important municipal commissions, that entrusted with the direction and oversight of the works about the bed and banks of

[1] III. 13, 18. [2] X. 13 (Sel. 80). [3] IV. 8.

the Tiber and the drainage system of the city.[1] Such posts were generally reserved for *consulares* of proved executive ability.

The term of Pliny's service in this curatorship, and its date, are alike unknown. Mommsen, with some degree of probability, conjectures that Pliny was created augur about 103 or 104, and became curator in 105, serving for about two years. Similar doubt besets the date of a later and more important office, and the last held by him. The important province of Pontus and Bithynia had been included in the list of senatorial provinces by the division made by Augustus in 27 B.C., but its administration through proconsuls chosen from the senate by lot had never been successful. For reasons that need not be detailed here, local conditions in Bithynia were especially unsettled and vexatious to the Roman administration. The organization of various forms of clubs had furnished the centres, as so commonly elsewhere, for political disturbances, and the finances of the more important cities were in a confused and critical condition through careless or criminal mismanagement.

Under these circumstances Trajan determined to take the administration of the province into his own hands for a season, and with the assent of the senate he despatched Pliny thither as his own personal representative with full powers to set the entire provincial household in order. The new governor's long and successful experience with financial administration and business since the day when, as hardly

[1] See inscr. on p. xl ; v. 14. 2 (Sel. 38).

more than a youth, he managed the accounts of the third (Gallic) legion in Syria, doubtless marked him out as especially well fitted to cope with the perplexing problems that confronted him in Bithynia. He discharged the duties of his office to the great satisfaction of the emperor, and the large number of his letters of information and requests for instruction, with answers to the same from Trajan, that are comprised in the tenth and last book of his correspondence, give us our fullest knowledge in detail of the manner of administration of an individual Roman province.

Pliny remained in the province in the neighbourhood of two years, and his service seems to have been terminated by his death. The letters to and from Trajan, which must have been published by some other person after Pliny's death, appear to be arranged in strictly chronological order. In the last he writes that he has sent his wife back to Italy on account of the death of her grandfather,[1] and with Trajan's sympathetic answer the correspondence suddenly ends. None of the letters intimate that he himself expected soon to be relieved of his office, and if we may judge from some parallel instances, he might have counted upon at least another year of service in Bithynia, and later upon further offices of the same sort. But the inscription erected at Comum after his death [2] shows that he held no further office. The only fair conclusion seems to be, then, that soon after his wife's departure for home death suddenly overtook him.

[1] x. 120 (Sel. 108). [2] See p. xl.

As remarked above, the date of his governorship, and so of his death, cannot be accurately determined. The imperial titles on the inscription already cited are of the year 113. But a term of office as early as 109 to 111, or as late as 111 to 113 would suit equally well all other indications,[1] and indeed, as the inscription cited was affixed to baths erected in accordance with Pliny's will, and most probably was cut at or near the completion of the building, and (if it followed the common fashion) recorded the imperial titles of the date of its carving, the year 111 seems none too late to assign as the probable date of Pliny's death, leaving a space of about two years for the settlement of his estate and the erection of the baths.

Such is the chronological skeleton of Pliny's career, which, as that of a man in public life, must be articulated from the account of his political offices. The clothing of these bones with flesh and blood and soul is a much more interesting thing, but can be only briefly attempted in a book of this sort. And indeed the careful and sympathetic reading by the student of Pliny's own letters is far more valuable than any talk by other persons about him.

Pliny was by choice a man of affairs, and an able man of affairs. And he was proud of being so, and anxious to be remembered by his actions. Yet his official career was of necessity marked by little that could command popular attention. He might have gone down to fame as a martyr to principle under Domitian, but, as has been said already, he seems to

[1] See intr. note to x. 15 (Sel. 81).

have had no promptings in that direction, though neither did he try to protect himself by servile adulation and flattery. He simply continued about his official duties without ostentation, and kept his mouth shut,—and people who did that seem to have been in no special danger during that 'reign of terror.' Pliny's greatest services to the state were in the direction of skilful and careful and zealous work in important administrative matters extending over a long period of years. But such services are in no wise picturesque. They do not lend themselves to headlines. The rhetorician finds nothing brilliant to say about them. Pliny was enough of a rhetorician to appreciate this fact thoroughly, and it is almost painful to see him so eager for posthumous fame as a statesman, and yet so hard put to it to find anything in his career on which a historian of politics who was his own intimate friend could found an excuse for mentioning him by name. Finally he appeals to Tacitus to describe the courage with which he challenged Baebius Massa to include him with his friend and colleague, Senecio, in a threatened charge of *impietas*.[1] The pathos of the situation is further enhanced by the fact that Pliny in general had so little of the stubborn bravery that marked his friend Senecio. His was essentially a fair-weather spirit. Like the nautilus, he spread his sail to the favouring breeze and sunlight, but was inclined to drop quietly out of sight when the storm lowered. One cannot help feeling that with his later glorification of his friends

[1] VII. 33.

who suffered under Domitian was mixed a painful regret that he himself had been content to play no more distinctively manful part in that drama of blood. He was perhaps not a coward, but he certainly was not a hero.

As a man of letters, also, Pliny longed for enduring fame, and seems to feel assured that he would find it. 'I judge them blest,' he cries, 'to whom the gods have granted to do noble deeds or to write noble words, but thrice blest those who have attained both glories.'[1] And so with persistent energy and enthusiasm he works for posterity.[2] And posterity has not forgotten his work, though, as so often happens, of that of which he perhaps thought least we think most. For of all his writings, Pliny appears to have cared most for his speeches and his verses, and least for his letters. It is very probable that herein he may have been influenced by the supposed example of Cicero, whose published collections of letters (to which, however, Pliny never refers) doubtless prompted Pliny to publish his. But Pliny's orations are the things he dwells upon with loving devotion. In one he makes Demosthenes his model,[3] in another he attempts to combine the more characteristic virtues of Demosthenes, Calvus, and Cicero![4] He speaks for hours at a time,—five hours,[5]—seven hours,[6]—with the utmost vehemence, and is never so shocked as when others would uphold the excellence of short and pointed

[1] VI. 16. 3 (Sel. 45).
[2] cf. *e.g.* IX. 14.
[3] VII. 30. 4.
[4] I. 2 (Sel. 2).
[5] II. 11. 14 (Sel. 17).
[6] IV. 16.

pleas,[1] or ask for only a few minutes of the court's time.[2] After delivery he works his long and studied speeches over, and makes them more long and studied.[3] He sends them around to his friends for correction and suggestion,[4] and finally insists, even in the face of much criticism of such a wearisome procedure,[5] on delivering them once more aloud, in this perfected elongation, before invited parties of patient listeners. And then at length they are published to the world. The possession of only one of them, the *Panegyric*, will go far toward solacing our grief for the loss of the remainder.

As every man of letters then or in any period of the world ought to do, Pliny loved poetry; and as few men then or ever ought to do, he tried to write it. Naturally enough, he loved what he had written, but worse than that, he also admired it. His early Greek tragedy could not have been undertaken because he was conscious of the inspiration of noble Melpomene, but doubtless simply because Greek iambics were comparatively easy to write. No man could have had much less of the tragedian in him than Pliny. Indeed, few writers could have had less of the poet. But he persisted in writing poetry, or at least verses,—lyrics, epigrams, epics, elegiacs;—he covered nearly the whole field of verse composition.[6] And he is filled with naive delight at his facility. His book of lyrics, he says, has met with quite unprecedented

[1] I. 20 (Sel. 13).
[2] VI. 2. 5 (Sel. 41).
[3] III. 18.
[4] *e.g.* I. 2 (Sel. 2); VIII. 19.
[5] VII. 17.
[6] VII. 4 (Sel. 47).

success. His poems are read everywhere. Copies pass from hand to hand, and are multiplied, and even Greeks have learned Latin that they might set to music the strains of this western bard. 'Whether their judgment is good or bad,' he writes, 'I am none the less delighted. I pray only that later ages may share in their delusion or their appreciation.'

Our age has no occasion to pass formal judgment on Pliny's claim to membership in the choir of true poets. The case has not reached this court of last appeal. The middle ages, that stern arbiter of literary reputations, spoke once for all, and Pliny's volumes of verse disappeared. Catullus we have, and Horace, and Vergil, and Ovid, and Tibullus, and Propertius, and even Statius, and Martial, and Silius Italicus,—but Pliny is lost beyond recovery. He has himself preserved to us one or two bits in his letters,[1] and we can well spare the rest. As might be expected, there is no spark of saving fire in them.

Indeed, Pliny was much too formal to be a poet. He could not tell the difference between his verses and those of Catullus, and so he concluded there was no difference;—so many feet to a line, such and such syllables to a foot, a tag or two from the epic vocabulary, and a gracious and complimentary turn of expression,—what could be more simple when one gets the knack? And so he delightedly turned off poetry of all varieties by the ream, and was sure it possessed the flavour of Helicon. Most amusing is the mixture of grief and indignation with which he

[1] VII. 4. 6 (Sel. 47); 9. 11 (Sel. 49).

hears that some of his friends think that he, a man of most correct tastes and life, and a most devoted husband, should not write risqué verses.[1] He is so surprised and confused at anything like adverse criticism that at first he hardly knows what to answer. 'Why,—but,' he stammers, 'that is the *way* to write poetry! Don't you remember what Catullus said?[2] And haven't all the great statesmen, and even emperors, done the same?' and he goes over a long list of stately names in defence of his proposition, without even catching sight of the real question at issue. Nor is it merely in the writing of amatory verses that Pliny fondly endeavours to convince himself that he might be very agreeably naughty indeed, if only he let himself go. He even tries to imagine at times that he is a radical by nature, and a bold contravener of established opinions. But Pliny could no more be a rake or an iconoclast than Falstaff could be a swashbuckler. He is altogether too good-natured to be thoroughly independent. He dreams of soaring, but he walks with calmest enjoyment the common round.

His letters are full of bits of unconscious humour, all the more enjoyable because Pliny seems to have but little humour in his being. He is always enthusiastic, almost invariably cheerful, and amiable, and quite correct. One can well imagine how a sunny-tempered man of elegant tastes and universal humanity must have won easily the regard of a great number of friends. He had a facility of understand-

[1] v. 3 (Sel. 36). [2] iv. 14.

ing them in a sort of superficial way that has always been one of the potent charms of a society man or woman. His fluency of spirit was most engaging, and of this his correspondence gives a perfect picture. Its themes are widely varied,—introductions, congratulations, condolences, accounts of his latest achievements in the forum, equally enthusiastic praise for the most extraordinary promise of the last young recruit in the forensic field and for the accomplished veteran, exhortation to mutual zeal in study, the freshest political news and rumours, questions that suggest themes for answer from his correspondent,—all flowing comfortably from his pen with the most charming air of good humour, and, as he would convince himself and us, with the manner of careless ease of writing. The varied life and interests of a rich and popular Roman of high station are admirably set forth in his pages, and through them we can read the real excellence of character of the writer, who was doubtless not a great man, nor an independent thinker and leader of men, but a conscientious and good and agreeable man,—qualities that are not always joined together in the same person. He had the 'instincts of a gentleman.' There was no bitterness in him. He appreciated and was most appreciated by good and not bad men. He was a most devoted and unselfish friend and husband. His liberality was great. He treated his slaves with regard and even tenderness, and was generous to his tenant farmers. He was an active and assiduous official even in the dullness of routine work.

One could wish Pliny had been more of a student of philosophy and less of a dilettante. The age was not productive of philosophic works, but we know that some men were thinking deeply, as men sometimes are when they are writing least. Yet of this there is hardly a trace in Pliny's letters. You cannot even tell whether he believed in the existence of God or not. There are no references to any thought about a future life, even when he is offering gentlest condolence to others, or speaking most regretfully of the loss of intimate friends. None of the great problems of being, or of morality, or of social life are touched upon by him. Nor is this because he deems them too serious and personal subjects for literary treatment in his epistles. There is clearly no discipline of reserve in Pliny. It is simply that his nature was too exuberant, too eager, too appreciative of the moment, to make it possible for him to be seriously contemplative. He flutters about the outskirts of philosophy, listening eagerly when a philosopher speaks, and carrying away from the circle a sense of the charm of sweet and noble discourse, but not at all the incentive to self-detachment that a thinker must have. His real interests lay elsewhere.

For Pliny is essentially self-conscious, and a rhetorician. Only his abounding good nature and tenderness of feeling saves him from being an aristocratic snob: only his real devotion to letters saves him from being a windbag. As it is he is a charming gentleman,—only a little too much given to form. One might almost fancy that culture in his family was but

a generation old, and he had not yet become used to the discovery of it in himself When Euphrates lays down gravely some ethical principle, Pliny's impulse is not to say, 'How true!', but 'How well put!', and then he tries to cap the epigram by another in the same form. That is why his letters seem at first sight to lack sincerity, though to express that as a final judgment would be to misread Pliny's character.

There is, to be sure, a great difference between Pliny's letters and those of Cicero. Cicero's letters are those of a man who wrote in a most virile period, and had no thought of regarding his letters as literary compositions. Pliny wrote a century and a half later,—and that is often a long period in literary history,—when rhetoric had enslaved men. And Pliny's letters, or at least such as he included in the first nine books, were written as literary compositions. He himself tells us they were composed with especial pains.[1] Yet letters are none the less letters because the writer believes they may ultimately be put before the eyes of more persons than the one addressed. Nor are they necessarily less charming and less instructive because thus written. They are likely, perhaps, to be less intensely personal, but they may be none the less sincere. Many of the letters of Wm. Cowper, perhaps the most agreeable of English letter-writers, would furnish a fair parallel to the letters of Pliny in this regard. But the letters themselves are their own best interpreter.

The question of the chronology of the correspon-

[1] I. 1. 1 (Sel. 1).

dence is one that has prompted much study, and the problem is by no means yet settled in every detail. In considering it, a distinction must be made between the first nine books, which were published by Pliny himself, and the tenth book (that of the correspondence with Trajan), which must have been put together by one of Pliny's friends after his death, —doubtless with the emperor's authorization. In this tenth book the letters are apparently arranged in strict chronological sequence. With regard to the first nine books there is more room for doubt. All of the letters are written by Pliny, but as was perhaps natural in the case of literary compositions, none of them as published have dates appended. Furthermore, in the case of very few can the date be determined from internal considerations. In the first letter of the first book, to be sure, Pliny distinctly says that he has compiled the collection (evidently not the nine books, but some smaller number first published) without regard to chronological arrangement, but following mere chance in order. Masson,[1] the earliest writer of an extended life of Pliny, was disposed to take this statement most seriously, and of the entire collection. And such seems to have been the prevailing opinion till Mommsen, in a searching article in vol. III. of Hermes, ventured to assert that Pliny was endeavouring to give an air of agreeable carelessness to the whole work, and so did not mean at all what he said;

[1] For titles of works see the names of authors in the list on pp. xlv ff.

that as a fact the individual books were for the most part chronologically distinct and successive groups, and in each the letters were arranged in chronological sequence. The first book, he held, was written in 97, or perhaps at the end of 96, and published in 97. The second book he claimed was composed of letters written from 97 to 100, and was published toward the beginning of the latter year. The third book contained letters of 101, or perhaps partly of 102 also. The fourth book contained letters from that period till the very beginning of 105, the date of its publication. The fifth book was written in 105 and published in 106, the year also of the sixth book. Book seven was apparently written in 107, book eight perhaps in 108, and the ninth and last book possibly at the same time with the eighth, but no later than 109; while the governorship of Bithynia, and the consequent date of most of the correspondence with Trajan was in 111 and 112 or 112 and 113.

Such is the summary of Mommsen's conclusions, and on them in great measure he based his account of Pliny's life. His position was not destined to remain long unassailed. Stobbe, Gemoll, Peter, Asbach, and more recently Maximilian Schultz, have attacked it (and occasionally each other) from various points, and as it seems to the present writer with success. The argument is too long to be entered upon here, but there appears to be little doubt that although for the most part the books follow one another in chronological order, yet Pliny meant

what he said in disclaiming precision in that matter, and some of the later books contain writings of an earlier date. The earliest letter of all, for example, is very likely II. 20 (Sel. 22), which was perhaps written in the last part of Domitian's reign, and it is the last letter of the second book. It seems on the whole quite reasonable to believe that the nine books were published in three groups (I.-II., III.-VI., VII-IX.) of which the first group was issued in the year 97 or 98, and the last in 108 or 109. The dates of individual letters included in the present selection are discussed in the notes.

Of inscriptions pertaining to Pliny a number from Como and its neighbourhood have been preserved (*C. I. L.* v. 5262, 5263, 5267). The longest, latest, and most interesting of these is here reproduced, with the restorations (in italics) made by Mommsen (*C. I. L.* 5262, = Dessau 2927, = Wilmanns 1162):

C · PLINIVS · L · F · OVF · CAECILIVS · *secundus cos* . | AVGVR · LEGAT · PRO · PR · PROVINCIAE · PON*ti et bithyniae* | CONSVLARI · POTESTA*t* · IN · EAM · PROVINCIAM · E*x s. c. missus ab* | IMP · CAESAR · NERVA · TRAIANO · AVG · GERMAN*ico dacico p. p.* | CVRATOR · ALVEI · TI*b*ERIS · ET · RIPARVM · E*t cloacar. urb.* | PRAEF · AERARI · SATV*r*NI · PRAEF · AERARI · MIL*it. pr. trib. pl.* | QVAESTOR · IMP · SEVIR · EQVITVM · *romanorum* | TRIB · MILIT · LEG · *iii* · GALLICA*e* . *xuir stli* | TIB · IVDICAND · THERM*as ex HS* . . . . . ADIECTIS · IN | ORNATVM · HS · $\overline{\text{CCC}}$ · . . . . . *et eo amp*LIVS · IN · TVTELA*m* | HS · $\overline{\text{CC}}$ · T · F · I · *item in alimenta* LIBERTOR · SVORVM · HOMIN · C | HS · |XVIII|

LXVI DCLXVI · REI · *p. legauit, quorum* incREMENT · POSTEA · AD · EPVLVM | *pl*EB · VRBAN · VOLVIT · PERTIN*ere* . . . . . *item uiuu*S · DEDIT · IN · ALIMENT · PVEROR | ET · PVELLAR · PLEB · VRBAN · HS · $\overline{d}$. *item bybliothecam, et* IN · TVTELAM · BYBLIOTHE | CAE · HS · $\overline{C}$.

(Gaius Plinius, Luci filius, Oufentina (tribu), Caecilius Secundus, consul, augur, legatus pro praetore prouinciae Ponti et Bithyniae, consulari potestate in eam prouinciam ex senatus consulto missus ab imperatore Caesare Nerua Traiano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, patre patriae, curator aluei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis, praefectus aerari Saturni, praefectus aerari militaris, praetor, tribunus plebis, quaestor imperatoris, seuir equitum Romanorum, tribunus militum legionis tertiae Gallicae, decemuir stlitibus iudicandis, thermas ex sestertium . . . . . , adiectis in ornatum sestertium trecentis milibus et . . . . . et eo amplius in tutelam sestertium ducentis milibus, testamento fieri iussit, item in alimenta libertorum suorum hominum centum sestertium duodeuiciens centena et sexaginta sex milia cum sexcentis sexaginta sex rei publicae legauit, quorum incrementa postea ad epulum plebis urbanae uoluit pertinere . . . . item uiuus dedit in alimenta puerorum et puellarum plebis urbanae sestertium quingenta milia, item bybliothecam, et in tutelam bybliothecae sestertium centum milia.)

A few words must suffice in this place concerning the MSS. of Pliny's writings. His works must be considered in three detachments, the MS. authority

for each being distinct. These three divisions are: Books I.-IX. of the Letters, Book X. of the Letters (the correspondence with Trajan), and the *Panegyricus*. Heinrich Keil is entitled to the credit of establishing the criticism of the text of the Letters upon a scientific basis, though later discoveries and further study have led to challenge of his estimate of relative values, which is not here followed.

The first and most important family of MSS., so far as its testimony extends, is that represented in best form by a single codex, once in the chapter library of St. Mary of Beauvais, and later in the Riccardian library at Florence. Thence it was stolen in the early part of the last century, and sold to Lord Ashburnham of England, through the purchase of a part of whose collection by the Italian Government some quarter of a century ago this MS. has found its way back to Florence, where it now reposes in the Mediceo-Laurentian Library (R. 98—formerly 37—of the Ashburnham MSS.). It is cited in this book as B (*Beluacensis*). The writing is in Carolingian minuscules of the early tenth century. It contains just one hundred letters (I. 1– V. 6. 32, omitting IV. 26), with the last incomplete. But the number, though striking, is merely accidental, the title-page of the MS. representing it to contain ten books, and the last page being complete through the word *pererrat*, the remaining folios having been lost centuries ago.

From this are apparently descended a considerable number of 'hundred-letter' MSS., of which the earliest known to the present editor, and the one to

which many others in Italy apparently owe their origin, is in the same library as **B**, having been transferred thither from the library of St. Mark's in the same city (cod. S. Marci 284). The writing is of the twelfth century. It is cited in the present edition as **F** (*Florentinus*).

A second family of MSS. is best represented by a codex in Carolingian minuscules of the ninth century, in the same Florentine library as **B** and **F** (Bibl. Mediceo-Laurent. plut. XLVII. No. 36). It is cited in this edition as **M** (*Mediceus*). It has the great merit of including all the letters from the beginning till IX. 26. 8, where the long Greek quotations wearied the scribe (or perhaps his predecessor), and he stopped, not to resume his work again. Whether the MS. from which it was copied contained ten books cannot be determined.

Closely akin to this is a codex of the Vatican library, in Carolingian minuscules of the ninth or tenth century (cod. Vat. lat. 3864). It is cited in this edition as **V** (*Vaticanus*). Unfortunately it contains only Books I.-IV.

A third family of MSS comprises a very considerable number that contain, though with some variations in combination, Books I.-VII. and Book IX., the eighth book being omitted, and the ninth commonly numbered as the eighth. These MSS., so far as at present studied, are all of the fifteenth century, and exhibit a greatly interpolated and corrected text, with many variations in reading, even among themselves. Their origin and interrelation remain yet to be

determined. Two of them (both in the Vatican library), which at least are less bad than many others, are cited in this edition as **u** (cod. Vrbinas lat. 1153) and **o** (cod. Ottobonianus lat. 1965).

Moreover, though the early editions of Pliny's letters followed for the most part the tradition of the 'eight-book MSS.', the first edition issued by Aldus (in 1508) was founded in great measure upon a MS. that contained the ten books, and clearly belonged to the family of **B F**. It is, therefore, worthy of close study, and is here cited as **a**.

There are many MSS. in existence that show a mixed text, sometimes because of the interpolation of a tradition of one 'family' by that of another, sometimes because one tradition is followed, for example, through v. 6, and another for the rest of the letters; but such MSS. are not of especial value, and need not be further mentioned here.

For the text of the tenth book we are dependent on two printed editions, and on certain MS. notes accompanying a printed volume in the Bodleian library at Oxford, discovered by Mr. E. G. Hardy. The earlier edition was published by Avantius of Verona in 1502, on the basis of a copy made in 'Gallia' by a certain Peter Leander from a MS. there existing. But the edition of Avantius contains only X. 41-*fin.*, the copy of the first forty letters having been lost. This edition is here cited as **A**.

The entire correspondence with Trajan appeared in full, however, in the Aldus edition of 1508 (cited as **a**) from a ten-book MS. in 'Gallia' (evidently Paris)

which a Venetian senator had brought to him, and from a copy of the same previously made for him by a certain Iucundus, a learned Veronese architect and ecclesiastic. The Paris MS. was very likely the same from which the fragmentary copy had been made for Avantius; but it has disappeared, and only the two printed books were left us as the basis for our constitution of the text, till Mr. Hardy's discovery of what he believes to be the actual book from which Aldus set up his edition of 1508. This copy contains X. 1-40 in MS., and 41-121 (*fin.*) in the edition of Avantius, with marginal corrections, the whole coming from the copy of the Paris codex made by Iucundus. Some of the readings of this Oxford book, which is thus our earliest authority for the text of Book X., are given in this edition as from O (*Oxoniensis*).

It will be convenient to append here for reference a list (arranged alphabetically by authors) of the fuller titles of books most frequently referred to in briefer form in the introduction and the notes. Others are but occasionally cited (with the exception of Latin texts and of periodicals), and are clearly enough described under the citation itself:

ASBACH, J.: Zur Chronologie der Briefe des jüngeren Plinius (in Rheinisches Museum, XXXVI., 1881).

BAUMEISTER, A.: Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums (3 v., München, 1885-1888).

BECKER, W. A.: Gallus, oder römische Scenen aus der Zeit Augusts, neu gearbeitet von H. Göll (3 pts., Berlin, 1880-82).

BIRT, Th.: Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältniss zur Litteratur (Berlin, 1882).

BRUNS, K. G.: Fontes iuris Romani antiqui, ed. 6, cura Mommseni et Gradenwitz (2 pts., Freiburg, 1893).

DE LA BERGE, C.: Essai sur le regne de Trajan (Paris, 1877).

DE-MARCHI, A.: Il culto privato di Roma antica (vol. I., Milan, 1896).

DESSAU, H.: Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (vol. I., Berlin, 1892).

DRAEGER, A.: Historische Syntax der lateinischen Sprache (2 v., Leipzig, 1878, 1881).

FRIEDLÄNDER, L.: Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine (3 v., Leipzig[6], 1888-1890).

GEMOLL, W.: De temporum ratione in Plinii epistularum IX. libris obseruata (Halle, 1872).

GILBERT, O.: Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum (3 v., Leipzig, 1883-1890).

GREENIDGE, A. H. J.: Roman Public Life (London, 1901).

GUHL and KONER: Leben der Griechen und Römer, 6te Auflage von R. Engelmann (Berlin, 1893).

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PLINY'S world—partly because it is presented with such rich detail—reminds us, more than that of any other period of Roman history, of the society of our own day. To pass from Cicero's letters to his is curiously like passing from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. In other respects, indeed, they have what might be called an eighteenth century flavour. Some of the more elaborate of them would fall quite naturally into place among the essays of the *Spectator* or the *Rambler*; in many others the combination of thin and lucid common-sense with a vein of calculated sensibility can hardly be paralleled till we reach the age of Rousseau.—J. W. MACKAIL.

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C. PLINI CAECILI SECVNDI EPISTVLAE SELECTAE

LIBER I.

1. (I. 1.)

C. PLINIVS SEPTICIO SVO S.

FREQVENTER hortatus es ut epistulas quas paulo 1
accuratius scripsissem, colligerem publicaremque. collegi non seruato temporis ordine (neque enim historiam componebam), sed ut quaeque in manus uenerat. superest ut nec te consilii nec me paeniteat 2
obsequii. ita enim fiet ut eas quae adhuc neglectae iacent requiram, et si quas addidero, non supprimam. uale.

2. (I. 2.)

C. PLINIVS ARRIANO SVO S.

Quia tardiorem aduentum tuum prospicio, librum 1
quem prioribus epistulis promiseram exhibeo. hunc rogo ex consuetudine tua et legas et emendes, eo

1 5 SEPTICIO MV SEPTITIO a SECVNDO B (*also in index*) Fou 6 quas BF si quas MVoua 7 accuratius BFoua cura (curam M) maiore MV*F*

magis, quod nihil ante peraeque eodem ζήλῳ scripsisse
2 uideor. temptaui enim imitari Demosthenen semper
tuum, Caluum nuper meum, dumtaxat figuris
orationis: nam uim tantorum uirorum 'pauci quos
3 aequus amauit' adsequi possunt. nec materia ipsa
huic (uereor ne improbe dicam) aemulationi repu-
gnauit: erat enim prope tota in contentione dicendi:
quod me longae desidiae indormientem excitauit, si
4 modo is sum ego qui excitari possim. non tamen
omnino Marci nostri ληκύθους fugimus, quotiens
paulum itinere decedere non intempestiuis amoenita-
tibus admonebamur: acres enim non tristes esse
5 uolebamus. nec est quod putes me sub hac exce-
ptione ueniam postulare. nam quo magis intendam
limam tuam, confitebor et ipsum me et contubernales
ab editione non abhorrere, si modo tu fortasse errori
6 nostro album calculum adieceris. est enim plane
aliquid edendum, — atque utinam hoc potissimum
quod paratum est (audis desidiae uotum)! — edendum
autem ex pluribus causis, maxime quod libelli quos

2 1 ante **BFoua** umquam **MV***F* ζήλῳ a zelo ou stilo (*but marg. 1 h.* al ZHAΩ) **B** stilo (*but* sti- *app. over slight blot*) **F** libro **M** libro (*but eras. and* stillo *add. marg. 2 h.*) **V** 4 nam uim *om:* **BF** (*but interlin.* a. materiam **F**) nam uim tantorum uirorum **oua** nam uim tantam uerborum **MV** 9 qui **BFoua** ut **MV** 10 quotiens ... admonebamur **BFoua** ut etiam paulum itinere (itenere **M**) cedendo intempestiuis amoenitatibus submouemur **MV** 12 acres (acris **o**) enim non tristes (tristis **o**) esse **BFou** acres (acreis **a** ac rés **M**) enim esse non tristes (tristeis **a**) **MVa** (*aul 2 h.* **B**) 14 nam **MV***F***a** non **BF** imo (*corr. 2 h. to* non **u**) **ou** 17 plane aliquid **BFoua** aliquid plane **MV***F* 19 audis **BFoua** audias **MV**

emisimus dicuntur in manibus esse, quamuis iam gratiam nouitatis exuerint; nisi tamen auribus nostris bibliopolae blandiuntur. sed sane blandiantur, dum per hoc mendacium nobis studia nostra commendent. uale.

3. (I. 3.)

C. PLINIVS CANINIO RVFO SVO S.

Quid agit Comum, tuae meaeque deliciae? quid 1 suburbanum amoenissimum? quid illa porticus uerna semper? quid platanon opacissimus? quid euripus uiridis et gemmeus? quid subiectus, seruiens lacus? quid illa mollis et tamen solida gestatio? quid balineum illud, quod plurimus sol implet et circumit? quid triclinia illa popularia, illa paucorum? quid cubicula diurna, nocturna? possident te et per uices partiuntur? an, ut solebas, intentione 2 rei familiaris obeundae crebris excursionibus auocaris? si possident, felix beatusque es; si minus, unus ex multis. quin tu (tempus enim) humiles et sor- 3 didas curas aliis mandas et ipse te in alto isto pinguique secessu studiis adseris? hoc sit negotium tuum, hoc otium, hic labor, haec quies: in his uigilia, in his etiam somnus reponatur. effinge aliquid et 4 excude quod sit perpetuo tuum. nam reliqua rerum tuarum post te alium atque alium dominum sor-

3 blandiantur *om.* **BFou**

8 11 subiectus seruiens **BF** subiectus et seruiens **MVoua** 18 si possident **BFoua** si te possident **MV** 19 tempus enim **BF** tempus est enim **MVfa** ipse enim **ou** 24 excude **oua** excute **BF** exclude **MV**

tientur; hoc nunquam tuum desinet esse, si semel
5 coeperit. scio quem animum, quod horter ingenium. tu modo enītere ut tibi ipse sis tanti quanti uideberis aliis, si tibi fueris. uale.

4. (I. 5.)

C. PLINIVS VOCONIO ROMANO SVO S.

1 Vidistine quemquam M. Regulo timidiorem, humiliorem post Domitiani mortem? sub quo non minora flagitia commiserat quam sub Nerone, sed tectiora. coepit uereri ne sibi irascerer; nec falle-
2 batur, irascebar. Rustici Aruleni periculum fouerat, exultauerat morte, adeo ut librum recitaret publicaretque, in quo Rusticum insectatur atque etiam 'Stoicorum simiam' appellat; adicit 'Vitelliana
3 cicatrice stigmosum.' agnoscis eloquentiam Reguli. lacerat Herennium Senecionem, tam intemperanter quidem ut dixerit ei Mettius Carus 'quid tibi cum meis mortuis? numquid ego aut Crasso aut Camerino molestus sum?' quos ille sub Nerone accusauerat.
4 haec me Regulus dolenter tulisse credebat, ideoque etiam cum recitaret librum, non adhibuerat.

Praeterea reminiscebatur quam capitaliter ipsum
5 me apud centumuiros lacessisset. aderam Arrionillae, Timonis uxori, rogatu Aruleni Rustici; Regulus

1 numquam ... coeperit **BFa** numquam desinet esse si semel coeperit (ceperit **V**) tuum **MV** numquam tuum desinet esse si semel coeperit (ceperit **u**) esse **ou**

4 18 ego aut crasso **BFoua** ego crasso **MV** 20 ideoque **BFoua** eoque **MV** 22 me ipsum **Fou**

contra. nitebamur nos in parte causae sententia Metti Modesti, optimi uiri: is tunc in exsilio erat, a Domitiano relegatus. ecce tibi Regulus 'quaero' inquit, 'Secunde, quid de Modesto sentias.' uides quod periculum, si respondissem 'bene,' quod flagitium, si 'male.' non possum dicere aliud tunc mihi quam deos adfuisse. 'respondebo' inquam 'quid sentiam, si de hoc centumuiri iudicaturi sunt.' rursus ille 'quaero quid de Modesto sentias.' iterum ego 6 'solebant testes in reos, non in damnatos interrogari.' tertio ille 'non iam quid de Modesto, sed quid de pietate Modesti sentias.' 'quaeris' inquam 'quid 7 sentiam: at ego ne interrogare quidem fas puto de quo pronuntiatum est.' conticuit: me laus et gratulatio secuta est, quod nec famam meam aliquo responso, utili fortasse, inhonesto tamen, laeseram nec me laqueis tam insidiosae interrogationis inuolueram.

Nunc ergo conscientia exterritus apprehendit 8 Caecilium Celerem, mox Fabium Iustum, rogat ut me sibi reconcilient. nec contentus, peruenit ad Spurinnam: huic suppliciter, ut est cum timet abiectissimus, 'rogo mane uideas Plinium domi, sed plane mane (neque enim diutius perferre sollicitudinem possum), et quoquo modo efficias ne mihi irascatur.' euigilaueram: nuntius a Spurinna: 'uenio ad te.' 9

2 erat ... relegatus **BMVFa** erat relegatus a domitiano **ou** (*and* **F** *at first, but corrected*) tunc **MVoa** tum **BF** tamen **u** 7 respondebo ... si **BFoua** respondebo inquam si **MV** 12 sentias quaeris **BFoua** sentias quaero quaeris **MV** 23 perferre sollicitudinem **BF** ferre sollicitudinem **oua** sollicitudinem ferre **MV**

'immo ego ad te.' coimus in porticum Liuiae, cum alter ad alterum tenderemus. exponit Reguli mandata, addit preces suas, ut decebat optimum uirum
10 pro dissimillimo, parce. cui ego 'dispicies ipse quid renuntiandum Regulo putes: te decipi a me non 5 oportet. exspecto Mauricum' (nondum ab exsilio uenerat): 'ideo nihil alterutram in partem respondere tibi possum, facturus quidquid ille decreuerit: illum enim esse huius consilii ducem, me comitem decet.'
11 Paucos post dies ipse me Regulus conuenit in 10 praetoris officio: illuc persecutus secretum petit: ait timere se ne animo meo penitus haereret quod in centumuirali iudicio aliquando dixisset, cum responderet mihi et Satrio Rufo, 'Satrius Rufus, cui non est cum Cicerone aemulatio, et qui contentus est 15
12 eloquentia saeculi nostri.' respondi nunc me intellegere maligne dictum, quia ipse confiteretur; ceterum potuisse honorificum existimari. 'est enim' inquam 'mihi cum Cicerone aemulatio, nec sum contentus
13 eloquentia saeculi nostri. nam stultissimum credo ad 20 imitandum non optima quaeque proponere. sed tu, qui huius iudicii meministi, cur illius oblitus es in quo me interrogasti quid de Metti Modesti pietate sentirem?' expalluit notabiliter, quamuis palleat semper, et haesitabundus 'interrogaui, non ut tibi 25 nocerem, sed ut Modesto.' uide hominis crudelitatem, qui se non dissimulet exsuli nocere uoluisse.
14 subiunxit egregiam causam: 'scripsit' inquit 'in

1 porticum **BFoua** porticu **MV** 18 existimari **MVoua** existimare **BF** inquam mihi **BFoua** mihi inquam **MV** 25 et *om.* **BFa**

epistula quadam, quae apud Domitianum recitata est. "Regulus, omnium bipedum nequissimus": quod quidem Modestus uerissime scripserat.

Hic fere nobis sermonis terminus. neque enim uolui progredi longius, ut mihi omnia libera seruarem. dum Mauricus uenit. nec me praeterit esse Regulum δυσκαθαίρετον: est enim locuples, factiosus, curatur a multis, timetur a pluribus, quod plerumque fortius amore est. potest tamen fieri ut haec concussa labantur. nam gratia malorum tam infida est quam ipsi. uerum, ut idem saepius dicam, expecto Mauricum. uir est grauis, prudens, multis experimentis eruditus, et qui futura possit ex praeteritis prouidere. mihi et temptandi aliquid et quiescendi illo auctore ratio constabit. haec tibi scripsi, quia aequum erat te pro amore mutuo non solum omnia mea facta dictaque uerum etiam consilia cognoscere. uale.

5. (I. 6.)

C. PLINIVS CORNELIO TACITO SVO S.

Ridebis, et licet rideas. ego ille quem nosti apros tres et quidem pulcherrimos cepi. ipse? inquis. ipse; non tamen ut omnino ab inertia mea et quiete discederem. ad retia sedebam: erat in proximo non uenabulum aut lancea. sed stilus et pugillares: meditabar aliquid enotabamque, ut, si manus uacuas,

8 fortius amore **BMVa** amore fortius **Fou** 9 concussa **MVa** concisa **B** concissa **F** consilia (*corr. 2 h.* **u**) **ou** 11 saepius dicam **BFoua** dicam saepius **MV**

5 21 ego ille **MV** ego plinius ille **BFoua**

2 plenas tamen ceras reportarem. non est quod contemnas hoc studendi genus. mirum est ut animus agitatione motuque corporis excitetur. iam undique siluae et solitudo ipsumque illud silentium quod uenationi datur magna cogitationis incitamenta sunt.
3 proinde cum uenabere, licebit auctore me ut panarium et lagunculam sic etiam pugillares feras. experieris non Dianam magis montibus quam Mineruam inerrare. uale.

6. (I. 9.)

C. PLINIVS MINICIO FVNDANO SVO S.

1 Mirum est quam singulis diebus in urbe ratio aut constet aut constare uideatur, pluribus iunctisque non
2 constet. nam si quem interroges 'hodie quid egisti?', respondeat 'officio togae uirilis interfui, sponsalia aut nuptias frequentaui, ille me ad signandum testamentum, ille in aduocationem, ille in consilium
3 rogauit.' haec quo die feceris necessaria, eadem, si cotidie fecisse te reputes, inania uidentur, multo magis cum secesseris. tunc enim subit recordatio 'quot dies quam frigidis rebus absumpsi!'
4 Quod euenit mihi, postquam in Laurentino meo aut lego aliquid aut scribo aut etiam corpori uaco, cuius
5 fulturis animus sustinetur. nihil audio quod audisse, nihil dico quod dixisse paeniteat: nemo me apud quemquam sinistris sermonibus carpit, neminem ipse reprehendo, nisi tamen me, cum parum commode

6 13 iunctisque **BFa** cunctisque **ou** cunctaque **MV** 25 me apud **BFa** apud me **MVou**

scribo; nulla spe, nullo timore sollicitor, nullis rumoribus inquietor: mecum tantum et cum libellis loquor. o rectam sinceramque uitam, o dulce otium honestumque ac paene omni negotio pulchrius! o mare, o litus, uerum secretumque μουσεῖον, quam multa inuenitis, quam multa dictatis! 6

Proinde tu quoque strepitum istum inanemque discursum et multum ineptos labores, ut primum fuerit occasio, relinque teque studiis uel otio trade. satius est enim, ut Atilius noster eruditissime simul et facetissime dixit, otiosum esse quam nihil agere. uale. 7 8

7. (I. 10.)

C. PLINIVS ATTIO CLEMENTI SVO S.

Si quando urbs nostra liberalibus studiis floruit, nunc maxime floret. multa claraque exempla sunt; sufficeret unum, Euphrates philosophus. hunc ego in Syria, cum adulescentulus militarem, penitus et domi inspexi amarique ab eo laboraui, etsi non erat laborandum. est enim obuius et expositus plenusque humanitate quam praecipit. atque utinam sic ipse quam spem tunc ille de me concepit impleuerim, ut ille multum uirtutibus suis addidit! aut ego nunc illas magis miror, quia magis intellego. quanquam ne nunc quidem satis intellego. ut enim de pictore, 1 2 3 4

3 o rectam **BF***f***a** rectam **MV** o regiam **ou** o dulce **BFoua** dulce **MV**

7 20 ipse ... me **Ba** ipse spem quam tunc ille de me **Fou** ipse quam spem tunc et de me **MV** 22 nunc illas magis miror **MV***f* nunc illas miror **BFa** illas nunc miror **ou**

scalptore, fictore nisi artifex iudicare, ita nisi sapiens non potest perspicere sapientem.

5 Quantum mihi tamen cernere datur, multa in Euphrate sic eminent et elucent ut mediocriter quoque doctos aduertant et adficiant. disputat subtiliter, grauiter, ornate; frequenter etiam Platonicam illam sublimitatem et latitudinem effingit. sermo est copiosus et uarius, dulcis in primis, et qui repugnantes
6 quoque ducat, impellat. ad hoc proceritas corporis, decora facies, demissus capillus, ingens et cana barba; quae licet fortuita et inania putentur, illi tamen
7 plurimum uenerationis adquirunt. nullus horror in cultu, nulla tristitia, multum seueritatis: reuerearis occursum, non reformides. uitae sanctitas summa, comitas par: insectatur uitia, non homines, nec castigat errantes sed emendat. sequaris monentem attentus et pendens et persuaderi tibi, etiam cum persuaserit,
8 cupias. iam uero liberi tres, duo mares, quos diligentissime instituit. socer Pompeius Iulianus, cum cetera uita tum uel hoc uno magnus et clarus, quod ipse prouinciae princeps, inter altissimas condiciones, generum non honoribus principem sed sapientia elegit.

9 Quanquam quid ego plura de uiro quo mihi frui non licet? an ut magis angar quod non licet? nam distringor officio ut maximo sic molestissimo. sedeo pro tribunali, subnoto libellos, conficio tabulas, scribo

3 mihi tamen cernere datur **BFa** tamen mihi cernere datur **MV** tamen mihi datur cernere **ou** 15 comitas par **BMV*Fa*** par comitas **Fou** 17 persuaderi **MV*F*** persuadere **BFoua** 21 princeps hunc inter **MV*F***

plurimas sed inlitteratissimas litteras. soleo non 10
nunquam (nam id ipsum quando contingit!) de his occupationibus apud Euphraten queri. ille me consolatur, adfirmat etiam esse hanc philosophiae et quidem pulcherrimam partem, agere negotium publicum, cognoscere, iudicare, promere et exercere iustitiam, quaeque ipsi doceant in usu habere. mihi tamen 11
hoc unum non persuadet, satius esse ista facere quam cum illo dies totos audiendo discendoque consumere. Quo magis te, cui uacat, hortor, cum in urbem proxime ueneris (uenias autem ob hoc maturius), illi te expoliendum limandumque permittas. neque enim 12
ego, ut multi, inuideo aliis bonum quo ipse careo, sed contra sensum quendam uoluptatemque percipio, si ea quae mihi denegantur amicis uideo superesse. uale.

8. (I. 12.)

C. PLINIVS CALESTRIO TIRONI SVO S.

Iacturam grauissimam feci, si iactura dicenda est 1
tanti uiri amissio. decessit Corellius Rufus, et quidem sponte, quod dolorem meum exulcerat. est enim luctuosissimum genus mortis quae non ex natura nec fatalis uidetur. nam utcumque in illis qui morbo 2
finiuntur magnum ex ipsa necessitate solacium est; in iis uero quos accersita mors aufert hic insanabilis dolor est, quod creduntur potuisse diu uiuere. Corel- 3
lium quidem summa ratio, quae sapientibus pro neces-

13 bonum **BFoua** bono **MV**
8 18 feci **MVfa** feroci **B** fero **Fou**

sitate est, ad hos cop
plurimas uiuendi causas
tiam, optimam famam,
terea filiam, uxorem, n
4 pignora ueros amicos.
ualetudine conflictabatur
mortis rationibus uincere

Tertio et tricensimo
pedum dolore correptus
plerumque morbi quoque
5 ut alia, traduntur. hunc a
uiridis aetas, uicit et fregi
6 ingrauescentem uiribus an
incredibiles cruciatus et i
retur. iam enim dolor n
insidebat sed omnia memb
eum Domitiani temporibu
7 serui e cubiculo recesserun
tiens intrasset fideliter a
quanquam omnia secreta c
8 circumtulit oculos et 'cur' i
dolores tam diu sustinere?
uno die superstes.' dedisse
fecisset quod optabat.

Adfuit tamen deus uoto
securus liberque morieres.
9 retinacula abrupit. iam
perantia mitigare temporalis

2 optimam [illegible]
enim hoc [illegible]

sitate est, ad hoc consilium compulit, quanquam plurimas uiuendi causas habentem, optimam conscientiam, optimam famam, maximam auctoritatem, praeterea filiam, uxorem, nepotem, sorores, interque tot
4 pignora ueros amicos. sed tam longa, tam iniqua ualetudine confligebatur ut haec tanta pretia uiuendi mortis rationibus uincerentur.

Tertio et tricensimo anno, ut ipsum audiebam, pedum dolore correptus est. patrius hic illi: nam plerumque morbi quoque per successiones quasdam,
5 ut alia, traduntur. hunc abstinentia, sanctitate, quoad uiridis aetas, uicit et fregit; nouissime cum senectute
6 ingrauescentem uiribus animi sustinebat, cum quidem incredibiles cruciatus et indignissima tormenta pateretur. iam enim dolor non pedibus solis, ut prius, insidebat sed omnia membra peruagabatur. ueni ad eum Domitiani temporibus in suburbano iacentem.
7 serui e cubiculo recesserunt: habebat hoc moris, quotiens intrasset fidelior amicus; quin etiam uxor, quanquam omnis secreti capacissima, digrediebatur.
8 circumtulit oculos et 'cur' inquit 'me putas hos tantos dolores tam diu sustinere? ut scilicet isti latroni uel uno die supersim.' dedisses huic animo par corpus, fecisset quod optabat.

Adfuit tamen deus uoto, cuius ille compos, ut iam securus liberque moriturus, multa illa uitae sed minora
9 retinacula abrupit. increuerat ualetudo, quam temperantia mitigare temptauit; perseuerantem constantia

2 optimam conscientiam *om.* MV 18 habebat hoc BMV habebat enim hoc Pou habebat is hoc a 19 quin *om.* MV

fugit. iam dies alter, tertius, quartus: abstinebat cibo. misit ad me uxor eius Hispulla communem amicum C. Geminium cum tristissimo nuntio, destinasse Corellium mori nec aut suis aut filiae precibus flecti, solum superesse me a quo reuocari posset ad uitam. cucurri: 10 perueneram in proximum, cum mihi ab eadem Hispulla Iulius Atticus nuntiat nihil iam ne me quidem impetraturum: tam obstinate magis ac magis induruisse. dixerat sane medico admouenti cibum κέκρικα, quae uox quantum admirationis in animo meo tantum desiderii reliquit.

Cogito quo amico, quo uiro caream. impleuit 11 quidem annum septimum et sexagensimum, quae aetas etiam robustissimis satis longa est: scio. euasit perpetuam ualetudinem: scio. decessit superstitibus suis, florente re publica, quae illi omnibus suis carior erat: et hoc scio. ego tamen tanquam et iuuenis et 12 fortissimi morte doleo, doleo autem, licet me imbecillum putes, meo nomine. amisi enim, amisi uitae meae testem, rectorem, magistrum. in summa, dicam quod recenti dolore contubernali meo Caluisio dixi, 'uereor ne neglegentius uiuam.'

Proinde adhibe solacia mihi, non haec 'senex erat, 13

1 fregit *Mommsen* 3 geminium **BFua** geminum **o** *Keil* germanium **M** germanum **V** 4 flecti **BFoua** inflecti **MV** 9 κέκρικα **BMVFa** κέκμηκα *Beroaldus, 2 h. over eras.* **F**, *in blank* **o**, *om. in blank* **u** 16 suis *om. aft.* omnibus **MVF** 17 ego *om.* **MV** et iuuenis et fortissimi **Boa** iuuenis et fortissimi **Fu** et iuuenis et firmissimi **MV** 18 morte doleo doleo autem **BFoua** mortem doleo doleo autem **V** mortem doleo autem **M** 19 amisi *om. aft.* enim **MVF**

sitate est, ad hoc consilium compulit, quanquam plurimas uiuendi causas habentem, optimam conscientiam, optimam famam, maximam auctoritatem, praeterea filiam, uxorem, nepotem, sorores, interque tot
4 pignora ueros amicos. sed tam longa, tam iniqua ualetudine conflictabatur ut haec tanta pretia uiuendi mortis rationibus uincerentur.

Tertio et tricensimo anno, ut ipsum audiebam, pedum dolore correptus est. patrius hic illi: nam plerumque morbi quoque per successiones quasdam,
5 ut alia, traduntur. hunc abstinentia, sanctitate, quoad uiridis aetas, uicit et fregit; nouissime cum senectute
6 ingrauescentem uiribus animi sustinebat, cum quidem incredibiles cruciatus et indignissima tormenta pateretur. iam enim dolor non pedibus solis, ut prius, insidebat sed omnia membra peruagabatur. ueni ad eum Domitiani temporibus in suburbano iacentem.
7 serui e cubiculo recesserunt: habebat hoc moris, quotiens intrasset fidelior amicus; quin etiam uxor, quanquam omnis secreti capacissima, digrediebatur.
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2 optimam conscientiam *om.* **MV** 18 habebat hoc **BMV** habebat enim hoc **Fou** habebat is hoc **a** 19 quin *om.* **MV**

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infirmus erat' (haec enim noui), sed noua aliqua, sed magna, quae audierim nunquam, legerim nunquam. nam quae audiui, quae legi, sponte succurrunt, sed tanto dolore superantur. uale.

9. (I. 13.)

C. PLINIVS SOSIO SENECIONI SVO S.

1 Magnum prouentum poetarum annus hic attulit. toto mense Aprili nullus fere dies quo non recitaret aliquis. iuuat me quod uigent studia, proferunt se ingenia hominum et ostentant, tametsi ad audiendum
2 pigre coitur. plerique in stationibus sedent tempusque audiendi fabulis conterunt ac subinde sibi nuntiari iubent an iam recitator intrauerit, an dixerit praefationem, an ex magna parte euoluerit librum: tunc demum, ac tunc quoque lente cunctanterque ueniunt; nec tamen permanent, sed ante finem recedunt, alii dissimulanter et furtim, alii simpliciter et libere.
3 At hercule memoria parentum Claudium Caesarem ferunt, cum in Palatio spatiaretur audissetque clamorem, causam requisisse, cumque dictum esset recitare Nonianum, subitum recitanti inopinatumque uenisse.
4 nunc otiosissimus quisque multo ante rogatus et identidem admonitus aut non uenit aut, si uenit,
5 queritur se diem, quia non perdiderit, perdidisse. sed tanto magis laudandi probandique sunt quos a scri-

9 12 audiendi BFMVa audiendis ou (*and 15th cent. corr. of* V) 15 tunc demum MV tum demum BFoua 23 et identidem admonitus *om.* MV 25 perdidit *Gierig*

bendi recitandique studio haec auditorum uel desidia uel superbia non retardat.

Equidem prope nemini defui. erant sane plerique amici: neque enim est fere quisquam qui studia, ut non simul et nos amet. his ex causis longius quam destinaueram tempus in urbe consumpsi. possum iam repetere secessum et scribere aliquid quod non recitem, ne uidear, quorum recitationibus adfui. non auditor fuisse sed creditor. nam ut in ceteris rebus ita in audiendi officio perit gratia, si reposcatur. uale.

10. (I. 15.)

C. PLINIVS SEPTICIO CLARO SVO S.

Heus tu, promittis ad cenam nec uenis! dicitur ius: ad assem impendium reddes, nec id modicum. paratae erant lactucae singulae, cochleae ternae, oua bina, halica cum mulso et niue (nam hanc quoque computabis, immo hanc in primis, quae periit in ferculo), olivae, betacei, cucurbitae, bulbi, alia mille non minus lauta. audisses comoedum uel lectorem uel lyristen uel, quae mea liberalitas, omnes. at tu apud nescio quem ostrea, uuluas, echinos, Gaditanas maluisti.

Dabis poenas, non dico quas. dure fecisti: inuidisti, nescio an tibi, certe mihi,—sed tamen et tibi quantum nos lusissemus, risissemus, studuissemus! potes

1 auditorum uel desidia **MVou** auditorum desidia (des- *over eras. or ldur in* **B**) **BFa**

10 13 dicetur *Keil* 16 halica **BFMVou** alica **a** nam hanc quoque **MVoua** nam haec quoque **BF** 17 periit **MV***F* perit **BFoua** 24 studuissemus *om.* **BF**

apparatius cenare apud multos, nusquam hilarius, simplicius, incautius. in summa, experire, et nisi postea te aliis potius excusaueris, mihi semper excusatiuale.

11. (I. 16.)

C. PLINIVS ERVCIO SVO S.

1 Amabam Pompeium Saturninum (hunc dico nostrum) laudabamque eius ingenium, etiam antequam scirem quam uarium, quam flexibile, quam multiplex esset: nunc uero totum me tenet, habet, possidet. 2 audii causas agentem acriter et ardenter, nec minus polite et ornate, siue meditata siue subita proferret. adsunt aptae crebraeque sententiae, grauis et decora constructio, sonantia uerba et antiqua. omnia haec mire placent, cum impetu quodam et flumine 3 peruehuntur, placent, si retractentur. senties quod ego, cum orationes eius in manus sumpseris, quas facile cuilibet ueterum, quorum est aemulus, compa- 4 rabis. idem tamen in historia magis satisfaciet uel breuitate uel luce uel suauitate uel splendore etiam et sublimitate narrandi. nam in contionibus idem qui in orationibus suis est, pressior tantum et circum- 5 scriptior et adductior. praeterea facit uersus, quales Catullus aut Caluus. quantum illis leporis, dulcedinis,

1 numquam **BF**

11 10 *beginning with* uero **MV** *omit without break or other than marg. note in late hand to I. 20.* 7 (*Sel. 13*), *where they resume with* retomisisse 13 aptae **BFoua** acutae *F* 19 idem qui in orationibus suis est **BF** eadem quae in orationibus uis est **oua** 22 tantum **BFou** tamen **a** 24 *after* Caluus *cod. Dresd. inserts* reuera quales catullus aut caluus

amaritudinis, amoris! inserit sane, sed data opera, mollibus leuibusque duriusculos quosdam, et hoc quasi Catullus aut Caluus.

Legit mihi nuper epistulas; uxoris esse dicebat: 6
Plautum uel Terentium metro solutum legi credidi. quae siue uxoris sunt, ut adfirmat, siue ipsius, ut negat, pari gloria dignus est qui aut illa componat aut uxorem, quam uirginem accepit, tam doctam politamque reddiderit.

Est ergo mecum per diem totum: eundem antequam 7
scribam, eundem cum scripsi, eundem etiam cum remittor, non tanquam eundem lego. quod te quoque ut facias et hortor et moneo. neque enim debet 8
operibus eius obesse quod uiuit. an si inter eos quos nunquam uidimus floruisset, non solum libros eius uerum etiam imagines conquireremus, eiusdem nunc honor praesentis et gratia quasi satietate languescit? at hoc prauum malignumque est, non admirari hominem 9
admiratione dignissimum, quia uidere, complecti, nec laudare tantum uerum etiam amare contigit. uale.

12. (I. 18.)

C. PLINIVS SVETONIO TRANQVILLO SVO S.

Scribis te perterritum somnio uereri ne quid aduersi 1
in actione patiaris, rogas ut dilationem petam et

2 mollius leuiusque duriuscolos (-culos **oua**) **BFoua**, *corr. cod. Dresd.* 4 **epistolas uxoris Ba** epistolas quas uxoris **Fou** 7 **dignus est qui BFou** dignus qui **a** 14 **an oua at BF** 16 **conquireremus** (conqui | remus **B**) **BFoua** requireremus *f cod. Dresd.* 18 **at oua et BF** 19 uidere complecti **BFa** uidere adloqui audire complecti **ou***F*

pauculos dies, certe proximum, excusem. difficile est, sed experiar: καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν.

2 Refert tamen euentura soleas an contraria somniare. mihi reputanti somnium meum istud quod times tu
3 egregiam actionem portendere uidetur. susceperam causam Iuni Pastoris, cum mihi quiescenti uisa est socrus mea aduoluta genibus ne agerem obsecrare. et eram acturus adulescentulus adhuc, eram in quadruplici iudicio, eram contra potentissimos ciuitatis atque etiam Caesaris amicos; quae singula excutere
4 mentem mihi post tam triste somnium poterant. egi tamen λογισάμενος illud

εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνασθαι περὶ πάτρης.

nam mihi patria et si quid carius patria fides uidebatur. prospere cessit, atque ideo illa actio mihi aures hominum, illa ianuam famae patefecit.

5 Proinde dispice an tu quoque sub hoc exemplo somnium istud in bonum uertas, aut si tutius putas illud cautissimi cuiusque praeceptum 'quod dubites
6 ne feceris,' id ipsum rescribe. ego aliquam stropham inueniam agamque causam tuam, ut istam agere tu, cum uoles, possis. est enim sane alia ratio tua, alia mea fuit. nam iudicium centumuirale differri nullo modo, istud aegre quidem sed tamen potest. uale.

12 14 patria *om. a*ſ*t.* mihi **BFa**, *add.* **ou** 15 ideo **BFa** adeo **ou** 19 dubitas *Sichardus* 21 ista **BF** ipsam **ou**a 24 istuc (*corr. fr.* istud **F**) **BF**

13. (I. 20.)

C. PLINIVS CORNELIO TACITO SVO S.

Frequens mihi disputatio est cum quodam docto 1
homine et perito, cui nihil aeque in causis agendis ut
brevitas placet. quam ego custodiendam esse con- 2
fiteor, si causa permittat: alioqui praecuaricatio est
transire dicenda, praecuaricatio etiam cursim et
breuiter attingere quae sint inculcanda, infigenda,
repetenda. nam plerisque longiore tractatu uis 3
quaedam et pondus accedit, utque corpori ferrum, sic
oratio animo non ictu magis quam mora imprimitur.

Hic ille mecum auctoritatibus agit ac mihi ex 4
Graecis orationes Lysiae ostentat, ex nostris Gracchorum Catonisque, quorum sane plurimae sunt circumcisae et breues: ego Lysiae Demosthenen, Aeschinen, Hyperiden, multosque praeterea, Gracchis et Catoni Pollionem, Caesarem, Caelium, in primis M. Tullium oppono, cuius oratio optima fertur esse quae maxima. et hercule ut aliae bonae res ita bonus liber melior est quisque quo maior. uides ut statuas, signa, picturas, 5
hominum denique multorumque animalium formas, arborum etiam, si modo sint decorae, nihil magis quam amplitudo commendet. idem orationibus euenit, quin etiam uoluminibus ipsis auctoritatem quandam et pulchritudinem adicit magnitudo.

Haec ille multaque alia quae a me in eandem 6
sententiam solent dici, ut est in disputando incompre-

13 6 permittat BFoua permittit *F* 8 sint BFoua sunt *F cod. Dresd.* 19 melior est quisque Ba quisque melior est Fou 20 picturas hominum deorumque, animalium *Mommsen*

hensibilis et lubricus, ita eludit ut contendat hos ipsos quorum orationibus nitar pauciora dixisse quam
7 ediderint. ego contra puto. testes sunt multae multorum orationes et Ciceronis pro Murena, pro Vareno, in quibus breuis et nuda quasi subscriptio quorundam, criminum solis titulis indicatur. ex his apparet illum permulta dixisse, cum ederet, omisisse.
8 idem pro Cluentio ait se totam causam uetere instituto solum perorasse, et pro C. Cornelio quadriduo egisse; ne dubitare possimus quae per plures dies, ut necesse erat, latius dixerit postea recisa ac purgata in unum librum, grandem quidem, unum tamen, coartasse.
9 At aliud est actio bona, aliud oratio. scio non nullis ita uideri, sed ego, forsitan fallar, persuasum habeo posse fieri ut sit actio bona quae non sit bona oratio, non posse non bonam actionem esse quae sit bona oratio. est enim oratio actionis exemplar et
10 quasi ἀρχέτυπον. ideo in optima quaque mille figuras extemporales inuenimus, in iis etiam quas tantum editas scimus, ut in Verrem, 'artificem quem? quemnam? recte admones: Polyclitum esse dicebant.' sequitur ergo ut actio sit absolutissima quae maxime orationis similitudinem expresserit, si modo iustum et debitum tempus accipiat; quod si negetur, nulla oratoris, maxima iudicis culpa est.

7 permulta quae dixisset cum *Mommsen* 9 G. **MVou***F*, *om.* **BFa** 11 purgata **BFa** repurgata **MVou***F* 14 fallar **BMVua** fallor **Fo** 16 posse non **BMVa** posse autem non **Fu** (*om.* non posse ... bona oratio **o**) 20 quem (*later erased* **B**) **BMVu**, *om.* **Foa** 24 accipiat **MV***Fa* accipiet **BF** acceperit **ou** 25 oratoris **MVu** orationis **BFoa**

Adsunt huic opinioni meae leges, quae longissima 11
tempora largiuntur nec breuitatem dicentibus sed
copiam, hoc est diligentiam, suadent; quam praestare
nisi in angustissimis causis non potest breuitas. ad- 12
iciam quod me docuit usus, magister egregius.
frequenter egi, frequenter iudicaui, frequenter in consilio fui: aliud alios movet, ac plerumque paruae res maximas trahunt. uaria sunt hominum iudicia, uariae uoluntates: inde qui eandem causam simul audierunt, saepe diuersum, interdum idem, sed ex diuersis animi motibus sentiunt. praeterea suae quisque 13
inuentioni fauet et quasi fortissimum complectitur, cum ab alio dictum est quod ipse praeuidit. omnibus ergo dandum est aliquid quod teneant, quod agnoscant.

Dixit aliquando mihi Regulus, cum simul ades- 14
semus, 'tu omnia quae sunt in causa putas exsequenda, ego iugulum statim uideo, hunc premo': premit sane quod eligit, sed in eligendo frequenter errat. re- 15
spondi posse fieri ut genu esset aut talus, ubi iugulum putaret: 'at ego' inquam 'qui iugulum perspicere non possum, omnia pertempto, omnia experior, πάντα denique λίθον κινῶ, utque in cultura agri non 16
uineas tantum uerum etiam arbusta, nec arbusta tantum uerum etiam campos curo et exerceo, utque in ipsis campis non far aut siliginem solam sed hordeum, fabam ceteraque legumina sero, sic in actione plura

12 complectitur **BFoua** amplectitur **MV** 19 eligit **BFa** elegit **MVou** 20 genu esset aut talus **MVofa** genuisset aut talus **B** genuisset aut sibi aut aliis **F** genu esset aut tibia aut talus **u** ubi ille iugulum **MV**, *om.* **BFoua**

quasi semina latius spargo, ut quae prouenerint
17 colligam. neque enim minus imperspicua, incerta, fallacia sunt iudicum ingenia quam tempestatum terrarumque. nec me praeterit summum oratorem Periclen sic a comico Eupolide laudari,

πρὸς δέ γ' αὐτοῦ τῷ τάχει
πειθώ τις ἐπεκάθητο τοῖσι χείλεσιν.
οὕτως ἐκήλει, καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων
τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.

18 uerum huic ipsi Pericli nec illa πειθὼ nec illud ἐκήλει breuitate uel uelocitate uel utraque (differunt enim) sine facultate summa contigisset. nam delectare, persuadere copiam dicendi spatiumque desiderat, relinquere uero aculeum in audientium animis is
19 demum potest qui non pungit, sed infigit. adde quae de eodem Pericle comicus alter,

ἥστραπτ', ἐβρόντα, συνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

non enim amputata oratio et abscisa sed lata et magnifica et excelsa tonat, fulgurat, omnia denique perturbat ac miscet.'

20 'Optimus tamen modus est.' quis negat? sed non minus non seruat modum qui infra rem quam qui
21 supra, qui adstrictius quam qui effusius dicit. itaque audis frequenter ut illud 'immodice et redundanter' ita hoc 'ieiune et infirme.' alius excessisse materiam, alius dicitur non implesse. aeque uterque, sed ille imbecillitate, hic uiribus peccat; quod certe, etsi
22 non limatioris, maioris tamen ingenii uitium est. nec

1 semina latius BFoua latius semina MV 2 inperspicua incerta MVa inperspicua et incerta BFu inperspicua et necessaria o

uero, cum haec dico, illum Homericum ἀμετροεπῆ probo, sed hunc

καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίῃσιν·

non quia non et ille mihi ualidissime placeat,

παῦρα μὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως·

si tamen detur electio, illam orationem similem niuibus hibernis, id est crebram et adsiduam et largam, postremo diuinam et caelestem, uolo.

At est gratior multis actio breuis. est, sed 23
inertibus, quorum delicias desidiamque quasi iudicium respicere ridiculum est. nam si hos in consilio habeas, non solum satius est breuiter dicere sed omnino non dicere.

Haec est adhuc sententia mea, quam mutabo, si 24
dissenseris tu, sed plane cur dissentias explices rogo. quamuis enim cedere auctoritati tuae debeam, rectius tamen arbitror in tanta re ratione quam auctoritate superari. proinde si non errare uideor, id ipsum 25
quam uoles breui epistula sed tamen scribe (confirmaris enim iudicium meum); si errauero, longissimam para. num corrupi te, qui tibi, si mihi accederes, breuis epistulae necessitatem, si dissentires, longissimae imposui? uale.

12 satius est breuiter **BFoua** satius breuiter **MV** 16 tuae debeam **BFoua** debeam tuae **MV** 19 sed tamen *om.* **F** confirmaris **Ba** confirmaueris **Fou** confirmabis **MV** 20 errauero **BFoua** errare **MV**

14. (I. 23.)

C. PLINIVS POMPEIO FALCONI SVO S.

1 Consulis an existimem te in tribunatu causas agere debere. plurimum refert quid esse tribunatum putes, inanem umbram et sine honore nomen an potestatem sacrosanctam et quam in ordinem cogi ut a nullo ita 2 ne a se quidem deceat. ipse cum tribunus essem, errauerim fortasse qui me esse aliquid putaui, sed tanquam essem, abstinui causis agendis: primum, quod deforme arbitrabar, cui adsurgere, cui loco cedere omnis oporteret, hunc omnibus sedentibus stare; et qui iubere posset tacere quemcumque, huic silentium clepsydra indici; et quem interfari nefas esset, hunc etiam conuicia audire, et si inulta pateretur, inertem, si ulcisceretur, insolentem uideri. 3 erat hic quoque aestus ante oculos, si forte me appellasset uel ille cui adessem uel ille quem contra, intercederem et auxilium ferrem, an quiescerem sileremque et quasi eiurato magistratu privatum ipse 4 me facerem. his rationibus motus, malui me tribunum omnibus exhibere quam paucis aduocatum. 5 sed tu, iterum dicam, plurimum interest quid esse tribunatum putes, quam personam tibi imponas, quae sapienti uiro ita aptanda est ut perferatur. uale.

14 2 POMPEIO FALCONI BFoua FALCONIO MV 8 qui me esse aliquid B qui me esse aliquem a qui me aliquid F qui esse aliquid ou aliquid (*om.* qui me esse) MV 13 indicere MV 14 inulta BFMVa multa ou

LIBER II.

15. (II. 1.)

C. PLINIVS ROMANO SVO S.

Post aliquot annos insigne atque etiam memorabile 1
populi Romani oculis spectaculum exhibuit publicum
funus Vergini Rufi, maximi et clarissimi ciuis et
perinde felicis. triginta annis gloriae suae superuixit.
legit scripta de se carmina, legit historias, et posteri- 2
tati suae interfuit. perfunctus est tertio consulatu,
ut summum fastigium priuati hominis impleret, cum
principis noluisset. Caesares quibus suspectus atque 3
etiam inuisus uirtutibus fuerat euasit, reliquit inco-
lumem optimum atque amicissimum, tanquam ad hunc
ipsum honorem publici funeris reseruatus. annum 4
tertium et octogensimum excessit in altissima tran-
quillitate, pari ueneratione. usus est firma uale-
tudine, nisi quod solebant ei manus tremere, citra
dolorem tamen. aditus tantum mortis durior
longiorque, sed hic ipse laudabilis. nam cum uocem 5
praepararet acturus in consulatu principi gratias, liber
quem forte acceperat grandiorem et seni et stanti ipso
pondere elapsus est. hunc dum sequitur colligitque,
per leue et lubricum pauimentum fallente uestigio

15 6 uergini B uerginii F uerginei o uirgini Ma uirginii V Virginei u ciuis et perinde BFoua ciuis perinde MV

cecidit coxamque fregit, quae parum apte collocata reluctante aetate male coiit.

6 Huius uiri exsequiae magnum ornamentum principi, magnum saeculo, magnum etiam foro et rostris attulerunt. laudatus est a consule Cornelio Tacito: nam hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit, laudator 7 eloquentissimus. et ille quidem plenus annis abiit, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos recusauit: nobis tamen quaerendus ac desiderandus est ut exemplar aeui prioris, mihi uero praecipue, qui illum non solum publice quantum admirabar tantum diligebam; 8 primum quod utrique eadem regio, municipia finitima, agri etiam possessionesque coniunctae, praeterea quod ille mihi tutor relictus adfectum parentis exhibuit. sic candidatum me suffragio ornauit, sic ad omnes honores meos ex secessibus accucurrit, cum iam pridem eius modi officiis renuntiasset, sic illo die quo sacerdotes solent nominare quos dignissimos sacerdotio 9 iudicant me semper nominabat. quin etiam in hac nouissima ualetudine ueritus ne forte inter quinqueuiros crearetur, qui minuendis publicis sumptibus iudicio senatus constituebantur, cum illi tot amici senes consularesque superessent, me huius aetatis per quem excusaretur elegit, his quidem uerbis 'etiam si filium haberem, tibi mandarem.'

10 Quibus ex causis necesse est tanquam immaturam mortem eius in sinu tuo defleam; si tamen fas est aut

2 coiit BFa coit MVou 6 hic ... cumulus BFa hic eius supremus felicitati cumulus MV hic supremus cumulus felicitatis ou 7 abiit MVoua abit BF 10 aeui BFoua uitae MV 12 regio *om.* BF

fiere aut omnino mortem uocare, qua tanti uiri mortalitas magis finita quam uita est. uiuit enim 11
uiuetque semper atque etiam latius in memoria hominum et sermone uersabitur, postquam ab oculis recessit. uolo tibi multa alia scribere, sed totus 12
animus in hac una contemplatione defixus est. Verginium cogito, Verginium uideo, Verginium iam uanis imaginibus, recentibus tamen, audio, adloquor, teneo; cui fortasse aliquos ciues uirtutibus pares et habemus et habebimus, gloria neminem. uale.

16. (II. 6.)

C. PLINIVS AVITO SVO S.

Longum est altius repetere, nec refert quem ad 1
modum acciderit ut homo minime familiaris cenarem apud quendam, ut sibi uidebatur, lautum et diligentem, ut mihi, sordidum simul et sumptuosum. nam sibi et 2
paucis opima quaedam, ceteris uilia et minuta ponebat. uinum etiam paruulis lagunculis in tria genera discripserat, non ut potestas eligendi, sed ne ius esset recusandi, aliud sibi et nobis, aliud minoribus amicis (nam gradatim amicos habet), aliud suis nostrisque libertis. animaduertit qui mihi proximus recumbebat 3
et an probarem interrogauit. negaui. 'tu ergo' inquit 'quam consuetudinem sequeris?' 'eadem omnibus pono: ad cenam enim, non ad notam inuito

5 uolo **BFoua** uolui **MV***F* 7 cogito Verginium *om.* **MV** 8 recentibus *om.* **BF** 9 aliquos ciues **BFou** ciues aliquos **MVa** (**B** *omits from II. 4. 2* exstiterim *to II. 12. 3* monstrandumque)
16 17 opima **Foua** optima **MV** 24 sequeris respondi eadem **MV**

cunctisque rebus exaequo quos mensa et toro aequauit.'
4 'etiamne libertos?' 'etiam: conuictores enim tunc, non libertos puto.' et ille 'magno tibi constat.' 'minime.' 'qui fieri potest?' 'potest quia scilicet liberti mei non idem quod ego bibunt, sed idem ego
5 quod liberti.' et hercule si gulae temperes, non est onerosum quo utaris ipse communicare cum pluribus. illa ergo reprimenda, illa quasi in ordinem redigenda est, si sumptibus parcas, quibus aliquanto rectius tua continentia quam aliena contumelia consulas.
6 Quorsus haec? ne tibi, optimae indolis iuueni, quorundam in mensa luxuria specie frugalitatis imponat. convenit autem amori in te meo, quotiens tale aliquid inciderit, sub exemplo praemonere quid debeas fugere.
7 igitur memento nihil magis esse uitandum quam istam luxuriae et sordium nouam societatem; quae cum sint turpissima discreta ac separata, turpius iunguntur. uale.

17. (II. 11.)

C. PLINIVS ARRIANO SVO S.

1 Solet esse gaudio tibi, si quid actum est in senatu dignum ordine illo. quamuis enim quietis amore secesseris, insidet tamen animo tuo maiestatis publicae cura. accipe ergo quod per hos dies actum est, personae claritate famosum, seueritate exempli salubre, rei magnitudine aeternum.

3 et *om.* Fa 4 minime. qui fieri potest? potest quia *Sichardus* minime fieri potest. Potest. quia F minime qui fieri potest quia *rell.*

17 21 actum ua acti FMVo (*and* s *h.* u) 23 insidit MV

Marius Priscus accusantibus Afris, quibus pro con- 2
sule praefuit, omissa defensione iudices petiit. ego et
Cornelius Tacitus, adesse prouincialibus iussi, exi-
stimauimus fidei nostrae conuenire notum senatui
facere excessisse Priscum immanitate et saeuitia
crimina quibus dari iudices possent, cum ob innocentes
condemnandos, interficiendos etiam, pecunias acce-
pisset. respondit Fronto Catius deprecatusque est ne 3
quid ultra repetundarum legem quaereretur, omniaque
actionis suae uela, uir mouendarum lacrimarum
peritissimus, quodam uelut uento miserationis imple-
uit. magna contentio, magni utrimque clamores, aliis 4
cognitionem senatus lege conclusam, aliis liberam
solutamque dicentibus, quantumque admisisset reus
tantum uindicandum. nouissime consul designatus 5
Iulius Ferox, uir rectus et sanctus, Mario quidem
iudices interim censuit dandos, euocandos autem
quibus diceretur innocentium poenas uendidisse. quae 6
sententia non praeualuit modo, sed omnino post tantas
dissensiones fuit sola frequens, adnotatumque experi-
mentis quod fauor et misericordia acres et uehementes
primos impetus habent, paulatim consilio et ratione
quasi restincta considunt. unde euenit ut quod multi 7
clamore permixto tuentur, nemo tacentibus ceteris
dicere velit: patescit enim, cum separaris a turba,
contemplatio rerum quae turba teguntur.

Venerunt qui adesse erant iussi, Vitellius Hono- 8
ratus et Flauius Marcianus: ex quibus Honoratus

1 proconsul **a** pro consule *rell.* 2 petiit **MVa** petit **Fou** 28 et ... Honoratus *om.* **MVo** Martianus **Foua**, *as always*

trecentis milibus exsilium equitis Romani septemque amicorum eius ultimam poenam, Marcianus unius equitis Romani septingentis milibus plura supplicia arguebatur emisse: erat enim fustibus caesus, damnatus
9 in metallum, strangulatus in carcere. sed Honoratum cognitioni senatus mors opportuna subtraxit, Marcianus inductus est absente Prisco. itaque Tuccius Cerialis consularis iure senatorio postulauit ut Priscus certior fieret, siue quia miserabiliorem, siue quia inuidiosiorem fore arbitrabatur, si praesens fuisset, siue, quod maxime credo, quia aequissimum erat commune crimen ab utroque defendi, et si dilui non potuisset, in utroque puniri.

10 Dilata res est in proximum senatum, cuius ipse conspectus augustissimus fuit. princeps praesidebat; erat enim consul: ad hoc Ianuarius mensis cum cetera tum praecipue senatorum frequentia celeberrimus: praeterea causae amplitudo auctaque dilatione exspectatio et fama insitumque mortalibus studium magna et inusitata noscendi omnes undique exciuerat.
11 imaginare quae sollicitudo nobis, qui metus, quibus super tanta re in illo coetu praesente Caesare dicendum erat. equidem in senatu non semel egi, quin immo nusquam audiri benignius soleo; tunc me tamen ut
12 noua omnia nouo metu permouebant. obuersabatur praeter illa quae supra dixi causae difficultas: stabat modo consularis, modo septemuir epulonum, iam

4 enim cerialis (cerealis M) fustibus MV 7 tuccius V tuctius F ductius M tutius ca lucius u cerealis Fpra 16 ad hoc MV*Fa* adhuc Fou 25 obuersabatur V*Fa* obuersabaturque ca obseruabatur M

neutrum. erat ergo perquam onerosum accusare 13
damnatum, quem ut premebat atrocitas criminis, ita
quasi peractae damnationis miseratio tuebatur.

Vtcumque tamen animum cogitationemque collegi, 14
coepi dicere non minore audientium adsensu quam
sollicitudine mea. dixi horis paene quinque: nam
duodecim clepsydris quas spatiosissimas acceperam sunt
additae quattuor.' adeo illa ipsa quae dura et aduersa
dicturo uidebantur secunda dicenti fuerunt. Caesar 15
quidem tantum mihi studium, tantam etiam curam
(nimium est enim dicere sollicitudinem) praestitit, ut
libertum meum post me stantem saepius admoneret
uoci laterique consulerem, cum me uehementius
putaret intendi quam gracilitas mea perpeti posset.
respondit mihi pro Marciano Claudius Marcellinus.
missus deinde senatus et reuocatus in posterum: 16
neque enim iam incohari poterat actio, nisi ut noctis
interuentu scinderetur.

Postero die dixit pro Mario Saluius Liberalis, uir 17
subtilis, dispositus, acer, disertus; in illa uero causa
omnes artes suas protulit. respondit Cornelius
Tacitus eloquentissime et, quod eximium orationi eius
inest, σεμνῶς. dixit pro Mario rursus Fronto Catius 18
insigniter, utque iam locus ille poscebat, plus in pre-
cibus temporis quam in defensione consumpsit. huius
actionem uespera inclusit, non tamen sic ut ab-
rumperet; itaque in tertium diem probationes ex-
ierunt.

1 ergo **MV***F* igitur **Foua** 17 ut *om.* **Foua** 22 eius **MVou** suae ***F***, *om.* **Fa**

Iam hoc ipsum pulchrum et antiquum, senatum
19 nocte dirimi, triduo uocari, triduo contineri. Cornutus Tertullus, consul designatus, uir egregius et pro ueritate firmissimus, censuit septingenta milia quae acceperat Marius aerario inferenda, Mario urbe Italiaque interdicendum, Marciano hoc amplius Africa. in fine sententiae adiecit, quod ego et Tacitus iniuncta aduocatione diligenter et fortiter functi essemus, arbitrari senatum ita nos fecisse ut dignum mandatis
20 partibus fuerit. adsenserunt consules designati, ic omnes etiam consulares usque ad Pompeium Collegam: ille et septingenta milia aerario inferenda et Marcianum in quinquennium relegandum, Marium repetundarum poenae, quam iam passus esset, censuit
21 relinquendum. erant in utraque sententia multi, 15 fortasse etiam plures in hac uel solutiore uel molliore. nam quidam ex illis quoque qui Cornuto uidebantur adsensi hunc, qui post ipsos censuerat, sequebantur.
22 sed cum fieret discessio, qui sellis consulum adstiterant in Cornuti sententiam ire coeperunt. tum illi qui se 20 Collegae adnumerari patiebantur in diuersum transierunt, Collega cum paucis relictus. multum postea de impulsoribus suis, praecipue de Regulo, questus est, qui se in sententia quam ipse dictauerat deseruisset. est alioqui Regulo tam mobile ingenium ut plurimum 25 audeat, plurimum timeat.

23 Hic finis cognitionis amplissimae. superest tamen λειτούργιον non leue, — Hostilius Firminus, legatus

2 dirimi M dirimit V dimitti (*marg. 1 h.* alr dirimi o) Foua
28 ΛΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΟΝ F ΜΙΟΥΡΓΙΟΝ MV *om. in blank* (*but later h.* λειτούργιον o) ou λειτούργιον a

Mari Prisci, qui permixtus causae grauiter uehementerque uexatus est. nam et rationibus Marciani et sermone quem ille habuerat in ordine Leptitanorum operam suam Prisco ad turpissimum ministerium commodasse, stipulatusque de Marciano quinquaginta milia denariorum probabatur, ipse praeterea accepisse sestertia decem milia, foedissimo quidem titulo, 'nomine unguentarii,' qui titulus a uita hominis compti semper et pumicati non abhorrebat. placuit 24
censente Cornuto referri de eo proximo senatu: tunc enim, casu an conscientia, afuerat.

Habes res urbanas; in uicem rusticas scribe: quid 25
arbusculae tuae, quid uineae, quid segetes agunt, quid oues delicatissimae? in summa, nisi aeque longam epistulam reddis, non est quod postea nisi breuissimam exspectes. uale.

18. (II. 12.)

C. PLINIVS ARRIANO SVO S.

Λιτούργιον illud quod superesse Mari Prisci causae 1
proxime scripseram, nescio an satis, circumcisum tamen et adrasum est. Firminus inductus in senatum 2
respondit crimini noto. secutae sunt diuersae sententiae consulum designatorum: Cornutus Tertullus censuit ordine mouendum, Acutius Nerua in sortitione

7 sestertium *Mommsen* 11 casu incertum an **Fou**

18 19 ΛΙΤΟΥΓΙΟΝ **F** ΛΙΠΟΥΡΗΟΝ **MV**. *om. in blank (but later h.* ειτούργιον, *and space left for initial* Λ **o**) **ou** λειτούργιον **a** 21 adrasum **MVoa** abrasum **Fu**

prouinciae rationem eius non habendam. quae sententia tanquam mitior uicit, cum sit alioqui durior
3 tristiorque. quid enim miserius quam exsectum et exemptum honoribus senatoriis labore et molestia non carere? quid grauius quam tanta ignominia adfectum non in solitudine latere, sed in hac altissima specula
4 conspiciendum se monstrandumque praebere? praeterea quid publice minus aut congruens aut decorum, *quam* notatum a senatu in senatu sedere ipsisque illis a quibus sit notatus aequari, summotum a proconsulatu, quia se in legatione turpiter gesserat, de proconsulibus iudicare, damnatumque sordium uel
5 damnare alios uel absoluere? sed hoc pluribus uisum est. numerantur enim sententiae, non ponderantur; nec aliud in publico consilio potest fieri, in quo nihil est tam inaequale quam aequalitas ipsa. nam cum sit impar prudentia, par omnium ius est.

6 Impleui promissum priorisque epistulae fidem exsolui, quam ex spatio temporis iam recepisse te colligo: nam et festinanti et diligenti tabellario dedi; nisi
7 quid impedimenti in uia passus est. tuae nunc partes ut primum illam, deinde hanc remunereris litteris quales istinc redire uberrimae possunt. uale.

7 B *resumes with* praebere 9 quam notatum *Sichardus* notatum MVa notandum Fou 10 aequari summotum BFa aequari et summotum MVou 13 sed hoc *om.* BF 15 in publico consilio potest fieri BMVa in publico consilio fieri potest F in consilio publico fieri potest ou

19. (II. 13.)

C. PLINIVS PRISCO SVO S.

Et tu occasiones obligandi me auidissime amplec- 1
teris, et ego nemini libentius debeo. duabus ergo de 2
causis a te potissimum petere constitui quod impetra-
tum maxime cupio. regis exercitum amplissimum:
hinc tibi beneficiorum larga materia, longum praeterea
tempus quo amicos tuos exornare potuisti. conuertere 3
ad nostros, nec hos multos. malles tu quidem mul-
tos, sed meae uerecundiae sufficit unus aut alter, ac
potius unus.

Is erit Voconius Romanus. pater ei in equestri 4
gradu clarus, clarior uitricus (immo pater alius,
nam huic quoque nomini pietate successit),
mater e primis. ipse citerioris Hispaniae (scis quod
iudicium prouinciae illius, quanta sit grauitas) flamen
proxime fuit. hunc ego, cum simul studeremus, arte 5
familiariterque dilexi: ille meus in urbe, ille in
secessu contubernalis, cum hoc seria, cum hoc iocos
miscui. quid enim illo aut fidelius amico aut sodale 6
iucundius? mira in sermone, mira etiam in ore ipso
uultuque suauitas. ad hoc ingenium excelsum, subtile, 7
dulce, facile, eruditum in causis agendis: epistulas
quidem scribit, ut Musas ipsas Latine loqui credas.

19 8 conuertere **BFMVoua** conuerte te *Sichardus* 9 hos multos **BMVa** hos quidem multos **Fou** 10 ac **MVoa** aut (*corr. from* ad **B**) **BFu** 12 ei **MV** plini **B** plinii **Foua** 14 huic **MVou** huius **BFa** 15 mater e primis (mater . E primis *Cat.* **a**) ipse (ipse *om.* **M**) citerioris (-es **u**) **BFMVouFa** et scis **BF** 16 ipse flamen *edd.* 20 illo aut **MV***F* aut illo **BFoua**

8 amatur a me plurimum nec tamen uincitur. equidem iuuenis statim iuueni, quantum potui per aetatem, auidissime contuli, et nuper ab optimo principe trium liberorum ius impetraui. quod quanquam parce et cum delectu daret, mihi tamen, tanquam eligeret, 5
9 indulsit. haec beneficia mea tueri nullo modo melius quam ut augeam possum, praesertim cum ipse illa tam grate interpretetur ut, dum priora accipit, posteriora mereatur.

10 Habes qualis, quam probatus carusque sit nobis, 10 quem rogo pro ingenio, pro fortuna tua exornes. in primis ama hominem: nam licet tribuas ei quantum amplissimum potes, nihil tamen amplius potes amicitia tua; cuius esse eum usque ad intimam familiaritatem capacem quo magis scires, breuiter tibi studia, mores, 15
11 omnem denique uitam eius expressi. extenderem preces, nisi et tu rogari diu nolles, et ego tota hoc epistula fecissem: rogat enim, et quidem efficacissime, qui reddit causas rogandi. uale.

20. (II. 14.) Ott. 20

C. PLINIVS MAXIMO SVO S.

1 Verum opinaris: distringor centumuiralibus causis, quae me exercent magis quam delectant. sunt enim pleraeque paruae et exiles: raro incidit uel personarum

2 statim *om.* **MV** 5 eligeret **BFoua** liceret **MV***F* 12 nam] ama **BF** 13 amplissimum potes **MVoua** amplissimum potest **BF** nihil tamen amplius potes *om.* **MV** potes **B** (*by corr.*) **a** potest **Fou** 14 ad] in **BFa**

claritate uel negotii magnitudine insignis. ad hoc per- 2
pauci cum quibus iuuat dicere: ceteri audaces atque
etiam magna ex parte adulescentuli obscuri ad de-
clamandum huc transierunt, tam irreuerenter et
temere ut mihi Atilius noster expresse dixisse uideatur
sic in foro pueros a centumuiralibus causis auspicari
ut ab Homero in scholis. nam hic quoque ut illic
primum coepit esse quod maximum est. at hercule 3
ante memoriam meam (ita maiores natu solent dicere)
ne nobilissimis quidem adulescentulis locus erat nisi
aliquo consulari producente: tanta ueneratione pul-
cherrimum opus colebatur. nunc refractis pudoris et 4
reuerentiae claustris omnia patent omnibus, nec in-
ducuntur sed irrumpunt.

Sequuntur auditores actoribus similes, conducti et
redempti: manceps conuenitur: in media basilica tam
palam sportulae quam in triclinio dantur: ex iudicio
in iudicium pari mercede transitur. inde iam non 5
inurbane Σοφοκλεῖς uocantur [ἀπὸ τοῦ σοφῶς καὶ
καλεῖσθαι]: isdem Latinum nomen impositum est
Laudiceni. * et tamen crescit in dies foeditas utraque 6
lingua notata. heri duo nomenclatores mei (habent
sane aetatem eorum qui nuper togas sumpserint)
ternis denariis ad laudandum trahebantur. tanti

20 1 perpauci **Foua** in pauci **B** pauci **MV***F* 2 iuuat **BFoua** iuuet **MV** 10 adulescentulis **BFou** adulescentibus **MV***Fa* 13 inducuntur **BFoua** ducuntur **MV** 15 conducti et redempti manceps (mancipes *F*, *om.* **B**) **BMV***F* conuenitur a conductis et redemptis (*om.* manceps) **F** conducti et redempti mancipes conuenitur a conductis et redemptis **oua** 22 heri (neri **u**) **BFoua** here **MV** 23 sumpserint **MV** sumpserunt **BFoua**

constat ut sis disertissimus. hoc pretio quamlibet numerosa subsellia implentur, hoc ingens corona colligitur, hoc infiniti clamores commouentur, cum
7 mesochorus dedit signum: opus est enim signo
8 apud non intellegentes, ne audientes quidem; nam plerique non audiunt, nec ulli magis laudant. si quando transibis per basilicam et uoles scire quo modo quisque dicat, nihil est quod tribunal ascendas, nihil quod praebeas aurem; facilis diuinatio: scito eum pessime dicere qui laudabitur maxime.
9 Primus hunc audiendi morem induxit Larcius Licinus, hactenus tamen ut auditores corrogaret:
10 ita certe ex Quintiliano, praeceptore meo, audisse memini. narrabat ille 'adsectabar Domitium Afrum: cum apud centumuiros diceret grauiter et lente (hoc enim illi actionis genus erat), audit ex proximo immodicum insolitumque clamorem. admiratus reticuit. ubi silentium factum est, repetit quod abruperat.
11 iterum clamor, iterum reticuit, et post silentium coepit idem tertio. nouissime quis diceret quaesiuit: responsum est "Licinus." tum intermissa causa
12 "centumuiri" inquit, "hoc artificium periit."' quod alioqui perire incipiebat, cum perisse Afro uideretur, nunc uero prope funditus exstinctum et euersum est. pudet referre quae quam fracta pronuntiatione dicantur, quibus quam teneris clamoribus excipiantur.
13 plausus tantum ac potius sola cymbala et tympana illis canticis desunt: ululatus quidem (neque enim alio

11 larcius **BFa** largius **MVou** 12 licinus **MV** licinius **BFoua** 18 ubi sibi silentium **RF** 21 licinus **MV** licinius **a** licentius **BFou** 26 teneris] taetris *Mommsen*

uocabulo potest exprimi theatris quoque indecora laudatio) large supersunt. nos tamen adhuc et utilitas 14
amicorum et ratio aetatis moratur ac retinet: ueremur enim ne forte non has indignitates reliquisse sed laborem fugisse uideamur. sumus tamen solito rariores, quod initium est gradatim desinendi. uale.

21. (II. 17.)

C. PLINIVS GALLO SVO S.

Miraris cur me Laurentinum uel, si ita mauis, 1
Laurens meum tanto opere delectet: desines mirari, cum cognoueris gratiam uillae, opportunitatem loci, litoris spatium. decem et septem milibus passuum 2
ab urbe secessit, ut peractis quae agenda fuerint saluo iam et composito die possis ibi manere. aditur non una uia; nam et Laurentina et Ostiensis eodem ferunt, sed Laurentina a quarto decimo lapide, Ostiensis ab undecimo relinquenda est. utrimque excipit iter aliqua ex parte harenosum, iunctis paulo grauius et longius, equo breue et molle. uaria hinc 3
atque inde facies: nam modo occurrentibus siluis uia coartatur, modo latissimis pratis diffunditur et patescit; multi greges ouium, multa ibi equorum, boum armenta, quae montibus hieme depulsa herbis et tepore uerno nitescunt.
Villa usibus capax, non sumptuosa tutela. cuius 4
in prima parte atrium frugi nec tamen sordidum,

21 12 et *om.* **BMV** 13 recessit *Keil* 15 et Ostiensis ... sed Laurentina *om.* **MV** 24 tepore **BFVfa** tempore **Mou**

deinde porticus in D litterae similitudinem circumactae, quibus paruula sed festiua area includitur. egregium hae aduersus tempestates receptaculum: nam specularibus ac multo magis imminentibus tectis muniuntur. est contra medias cauaedium hilare, mox triclinium satis pulchrum, quod in litus excurrit, ac si quando Africo mare impulsum est, fractis iam et nouissimis fluctibus leuiter adluitur. undique ualuas aut fenestras non minores ualuis habet, atque ita a lateribus a fronte quasi tria maria prospectat; a tergo cauaedium, porticum, aream, porticum rursus, mox atrium, siluas et longinquos respicit montes.

6 Huius a laeua retractius paulo cubiculum est amplum, deinde aliud minus, quod altera fenestra admittit orientem, occidentem altera retinet, hac et subiacens mare longius quidem sed securius intuetur.

7 huius cubiculi et triclinii illius obiectu includitur angulus, qui purissimum solem continet et accendit. hoc hibernaculum, hoc etiam gymnasium meorum est: ibi omnes silent uenti exceptis qui nubilum inducunt

8 et serenum ante quam usum loci eripiunt. adnectitur angulo cubiculum in hapsida curuatum, quod ambitum solis fenestris omnibus sequitur. parieti eius in bibliothecae speciem armarium insertum est, quod non

9 legendos libros sed lectitandos capit. adhaeret dormi-

1 in D litterae F in delitterae B inde litterae MV in O litterae oua 3 egregium hae (he F, e B, haec a) aduersum BFoua egregium aduersus (*om.* hac) MV 7 iam BFoua simul MV 12 prospicit *Keil* 19 plurimum *Mommsen*

torium membrum transitu interiacente, qui suspensus et tubulatus conceptum uaporem salubri temperamento huc illuc digerit et ministrat. reliqua pars lateris huius seruorum libertorumque usibus detinetur, plerisque tam mundis ut accipere hospites possint.

Ex alio latere cubiculum est politissimum; deinde uel cubiculum grande uel modica cenatio, quae plurimo sole, plurimo mari lucet; post hanc cubiculum cum procoetone, altitudine aestiuum, munimentis hibernum: est enim subductum omnibus uentis. huic cubiculo aliud et procoeton communi pariete iunguntur. inde balinei cella frigidaria spatiosa et effusa, cuius in contrariis parietibus duo baptisteria uelut eiecta sinuantur, abunde capacia, si mare in proximo cogites. adiacet unctorium, hypocauston, adiacet propnigeon balinei, mox duae cellae magis elegantes quam sumptuosae: cohaeret calida piscina mirifica, ex qua natantes mare aspiciunt, nec procul sphaeristerium, quod calidissimo soli inclinato iam die occurrit. hic turris erigitur, sub qua diaetae duae, totidem in ipsa, praeterea cenatio, quae latissimum mare, longissimum litus, amoenissimas uillas prospicit. est et alia turris: in hac cubiculum, in quo sol nascitur conditurque: lata post apotheca et horreum: sub hoc triclinium, quod turbati maris non nisi

1 qui suspensus et subulatus **BF** qui suspensus et tabulatus *Cat.* a qui suspensus et (et *om.* o) sublatus **ou** quod suspensum et tubulatum **MV** 5 possint et ex **BF** 6 pollitissimum (polioua) **BFoua** potissimum **MV** 8 plurimo sole *om.* **MV** 14 si mare **MV***f* sin mare **BFou** si innare a 22 amoenissimas uillas **BFoua** uillas amoenissimas **MV** prospicit **BFoua** possidet **MV***f*

fragorem et sonum patitur, eumque iam languidum ac desinentem; hortum et gestationem uidet, qua hortus includitur.

14 Gestatio buxo aut rore marino, ubi deficit buxus, ambitur: nam buxus, qua parte defenditur tectis, abunde uiret; aperto caelo apertoque uento et quan-15 quam longinqua aspergine maris inarescit. adiacet gestationi interiore circumitu uinea tenera et umbrosa nudisque etiam pedibus mollis et cedens. hortum morus et ficus frequens uestit, quarum arborum illa uel maxime ferax terra est, malignior ceteris. hac non deteriore quam maris facie cenatio remota a mari fruitur: cingitur diaetis duabus a tergo, quarum fenestris subiacet uestibulum uillae et hortus alius pinguis et rusticus.

16 Hinc cryptoporticus prope publici operis extenditur. utrimque fenestrae, a mari plures, ab horto pauciores, sed alternis singulae. hae, cum serenus dies et immotus, omnes, cum hinc uel inde uentus inquietus, 17 qua uenti quiescunt, sine iniuria patent. ante cryptoporticum xystus uiolis odoratus: teporem solis infusi repercussu cryptoporticus auget, quae ut tenet solem sic aquilonem inhibet summouetque, quantumque caloris ante tantum retro frigoris. similiter Africum sistit, atque ita diuersissimos uentos alium alio latere

2 ac **BFoua** et **MV***f* 13 cingitur **BFoua** uincitur **MV** 17 pauciores sed alternis singulae *Keil* singulae sed (et **BFoua**) alternis (alterius **ou**, altius **a**) pauciores **BFMVoua** 19 uentus **BFoua** uentis (*corr. fr.* uentus **V**) **MV** 20 ante ... 22 tenet **BFoua** ante cryptoporticum auget (area **MV**) quae ut tenet **MV** *cod. Dresd.* 23 submouetque (sum- **B**) **BFoua** continetque **MV**

frangit et finit. haec iucunditas eius hieme, maior aestate. nam ante meridiem xystum, post meridiem 18
gestationis hortique proximam partem umbra sua temperat, quae, ut dies creuit decreuitue, modo breuior modo longior hac uel illa cadit. ipsa uero crypto- 19
porticus tum maxime caret sole, cum ardentissimus culmini eius insistit. ad hoc patentibus fenestris fauonios accipit transmittitque, nec unquam aëre pigro et manente ingrauescit.

In capite xysti, deinceps cryptoporticus, horti, diaeta 20
est, amores mei : re uera amores : ipse posui. in hac heliocaminus quidem alia xystum alia mare utraque solem, cubiculum autem ualuis cryptoporticum, fenestra prospicit mare. contra parietem medium 21
zotheca perquam eleganter recedit, quae specularibus et uelis obductis reductisue modo adicitur cubiculo modo aufertur. lectum et duas cathedras capit : a pedibus mare, a tergo uillae, a capite siluae : tot facies locorum totidem fenestris et distinguit et miscet.
iunctum est cubiculum noctis et somni. non illud 22
uoces seruulorum, non maris murmur, non tempestatum motus, non fulgurum lumen ac ne diem quidem sentit, nisi fenestris apertis. tam alti abditique secreti illa ratio, quod interiacens andron parietem
cubiculi hortique distinguit atque ita omnem sonum media inanitate consumit. applicitum est cubiculo 23
hypocauston perexiguum, quod angusta fenestra suppositum calorem, ut ratio exigit, aut effundit aut retinet. procoeton inde et cubiculum porrigitur in

6 tum MV tunc BFoua 28 exigit BFoua exegit MV

solem, quem orientem statim exceptum ultra meridiem
24 obliquum quidem sed tamen seruat. in hanc ego
diaetam cum me recepi, abesse mihi etiam a uilla
mea uideor, magnamque eius uoluptatem praecipue
Saturnalibus capio, cum reliqua pars tecti licentia
dierum festisque clamoribus personat: nam nec ipse
meorum lusibus nec illi studiis meis obstrepunt.
25 Haec utilitas, haec amoenitas deficitur aqua salienti,
sed puteos ac potius fontes habet: sunt enim in
summo. et omnino litoris illius mira natura: quo-
cumque loco moueris humum, obuius et paratus umor
occurrit, isque sincerus ac ne leuiter quidem tanta
26 maris uicinitate corruptus. suggerunt adfatim ligna
proximae siluae: ceteras copias Ostiensis colonia
ministrat. frugi quidem homini sufficit etiam uicus
quem una uilla discernit: in hoc balinea meritoria
tria, magna commoditas, si forte balineum domi
uel subitus aduentus uel breuior mora calfacere dis-
suadeat.
27 Litus ornant uarietate gratissima nunc continua
nunc intermissa tecta uillarum, quae praestant mul-
tarum urbium faciem, siue mari siue ipso litore utare;
quod non nunquam longa tranquillitas mollit, saepius
28 frequens et contrarius fluctus indurat. mare non
sane pretiosis piscibus abundat, solcas tamen et
squillas optimas egerit. uilla uero nostra etiam
mediterraneas copias praestat, lac in primis: nam

3 recepi MV*F* recipi B recipio Foua 9 potius] potiles *Mommsen* 13 corruptus BFoua salsus MV*F* 17 domi (2 *h.* al' domi o) uel MVoa domini uel BFu uel domini *F* 22 siue mari (maris M) MV*F* siue ipso mari BFoua

illuc e pascuis pecora conueniunt, si quando aquam umbramue sectantur.

Iustisne de causis eum tibi uideor incolere, inhabitare, 29
diligere secessum, quem tu nimis urbanus es nisi concupiscis? atque utinam concupiscas! ut tot tantisque dotibus uillulae nostrae maxima commendatio ex tuo contubernio accedat. uale.

22. (II. 20.)

C. PLINIVS CALVISIO SVO S.

'Assem para et accipe auream fabulam,' fabulas 1
immo: nam me priorum noua admonuit, nec refert a qua potissimum incipiam.

Verania Pisonis grauiter iacebat, huius dico Pisonis 2
quem Galba adoptauit. ad hanc Regulus uenit. primum impudentiam hominis qui uenerit ad aegram cuius marito inimicissimus, ipsi inuisissimus fuerat. esto, si uenit tantum: at ille etiam proximus toro 3
sedit, quo die, qua hora nata esset interrogauit. ubi audiit, componit uultum, intendit oculos, mouet labra, agitat digitos, computat. nihil. ut diu miseram exspectatione suspendit, 'habes' inquit 'climactericum tempus, sed euades. quod ut tibi magis liqueat, 4
haruspicem consulam quem sum frequenter expertus.' nec mora; sacrificium facit, adfirmat exta cum siderum 5

2 umbramue **MVoa** umbramque **BFu** 3 eum **BFoua** iam **MV***F*

22 16 ipsi inuisissimus *om.* **MV***F* 18 quo] qua **MV***F* 20 nihil ut diu **BFou** nihil diu **MV***Fa*

significatione congruere. illa, ut in periculo credula, poscit codicillos, legatum Regulo scribit: mox ingrauescit: clamat moriens 'hominem nequam, perfidum, ac plus etiam quam periurum,' qui sibi per salutem
6 filii peierasset. facit hoc Regulus non minus scelerate quam frequenter, quod iram deorum, quos ipse cotidie fallit, in caput infelicis pueri detestatur.
7 Velleius Blaesus, ille locuples consularis, nouissima ualetudine conflictabatur: cupiebat mutare testamentum. Regulus, qui speraret aliquid ex nouis tabulis, quia nuper captare eum coeperat, medicos hortari, rogare quoquo modo spiritum homini prorogarent.
8 postquam signatum est testamentum, mutat personam, uertit adlocutionem, isdemque medicis 'quousque miserum cruciatis? quid inuidetis bonam mortem cui dare uitam non potestis?' moritur Blaesus, et tanquam omnia audisset, Regulo ne tantulum quidem.
9 Sufficiunt duae fabulae, an scholastica lege tertiam
10 poscis? est unde fiat. Aurelia, ornata femina, signatura testamentum sumpserat pulcherrimas tunicas. Regulus cum uenisset ad signandum, 'rogo' inquit
11 'has mihi leges.' Aurelia ludere hominem putabat, ille serio instabat: ne multa, coëgit mulierem aperire tabulas ac sibi tunicas quas erat induta legare: obseruauit scribentem, inspexit an scripsisset. et Aurelia quidem uiuit, ille tamen istud tanquam morituram coëgit, et hic hereditates, hic legata, quasi mercatur, accipit.

3 hominem **BMV** o hominem **Foua** 15 bonam mortem **oua** bona mortis **BF** bona morte **MV** 16 moritur blaesus et tamquam **BFoua** moriturus blaesus tamquam **MV**

Ἀλλὰ τί διατείνομαι in ea ciuitate, in qua iam pri- 12
dem non minora praemia, immo maiora, nequitia et
improbitas quam pudor et uirtus habent? aspice 13
Regulum, qui ex paupere et tenui ad tantas opes per
flagitia processit ut ipse mihi dixerit, cum consuleret
quam cito sestertium sescenties impleturus esset
inuenisse se exta duplicia, quibus portendi milies et
ducenties habiturum. et habebit, si modo, ut coepit, 14
aliena testamenta, quod est improbissimum genus
falsi, ipsis quorum sunt illa dictauerit. uale.

7 duplicia MV*F* duplicata BFoua

LIBER III.

23. (III. 1.)

C. PLINIVS CALVISIO RVFO SVO S.

1 Nescio an ullum iucundius tempus exegerim quam quo nuper apud Spurinnam fui, adeo quidem ut neminem magis in senectute, si modo senescere datum est, aemulari uelim: nihil est enim illo uitae genere 2 distinctius. me autem ut certus siderum cursus ita uita hominum disposita delectat, senum praesertim. nam iuuenes adhuc confusa quaedam et quasi turbata non indecent; senibus placida omnia et ordinata conueniunt, quibus industria sera, turpis ambitio est. 3 Hanc regulam Spurinna constantissime seruat; quin etiam parua haec, parua, si non cotidie fiant, ordine 4 quodam et uelut orbe circumagit. mane lectulo continetur, hora secunda calceos poscit, ambulat milia passuum tria nec minus animum quam corpus exercet. si adsunt amici, honestissimi sermones explicantur: si non, liber legitur; interdum etiam praesentibus 5 amicis, si tamen illi non grauantur. deinde considit, et liber rursus aut sermo libro potior: mox uehiculum ascendit, adsumit uxorem singularis exempli uel

23 3 RVFO *om. codd.* (*but* R *in index* Adcaluisiumrufum.) 10 adhuc confusa **BFoua** confusa adhuc **MV** 20 considit **MV** considet **BFoua**

aliquem amicorum, ut me proxime. quam pulchrum 6
illud, quam dulce secretum! quantum ibi antiquitatis! quae facta, quos uiros audias! quibus praeceptis imbuare! quamuis ille hoc temperamentum modestiae suae indixerit, ne praecipere uideatur. peractis sep- 7
tem milibus passuum iterum ambulat mille, iterum residit uel se cubiculo ac stilo reddit. scribit enim, et quidem utraque lingua, lyrica doctissima: mira illis dulcedo, mira suauitas, mira hilaritas, cuius gratiam cumulat sanctitas scribentis. ubi hora balinei nuntiata 8
est (est autem hieme nona, aestate octaua), in sole, si caret uento, ambulat nudus. deinde mouetur pila uehementer et diu: nam hoc quoque exercitationis genere pugnat cum senectute. lotus accūbat et pauli- sper cibum differt: interim audit legentem remissius aliquid et dulcius. per hoc omne tempus liberum est amicis uel eadem facere uel alia, si malint. ad- 9
ponitur cena non minus nitida quam frugi in argento puro et antiquo: sunt in usu et Corinthia, quibus delectatur nec adficitur. frequenter comoedis cena distinguitur, ut uoluptates quoque studiis condiantur. sumit aliquid de nocte et aestate: nemini hoc longum est; tanta comitate conuiuium trahitur. inde illi post 10
septimum et septuagensimum annum aurium oculorum uigor integer, inde agile et uiuidum corpus solaque ex senectute prudentia.

Hanc ego uitam uoto et cogitatione praesumo, 11

7 **residit BMV resedet Foua** 8 lyrica doctissima **BFa** lyrica (li- **u**) et doctissima **ou** lyrica doctissime **MV***F* 14 lotus **BFoua** illic **MV** 20 nec **MV** et **BFoua** 24 oculorum **BMV** oculorumque **Foua**

ingressurus auidissime, ut primum ratio aetatis receptui canere permiserit. interim mille laboribus conteror, quorum mihi et solacium et exemplum est idem Spurinna: nam ille quoque, quoad honestum fuit, obiit officia, gessit magistratus, prouincias rexit,
12 multoque labore hoc otium meruit. igitur eundem mihi cursum, eundem terminum statuo, idque iam nunc apud te subsigno, ut si me longius euehi uideris, in ius uoces ad hanc epistulam meam et quiescere iubeas, cum inertiae crimen effugero. uale.

24. (III. 5.)

C. PLINIVS BAEBIO MACRO SVO S.

1 Pergratum est mihi quod tam diligenter libros auunculi mei lectitas ut habere omnes uelis quaeras-
2 que qui sint omnes. fungar indicis partibus atque etiam quo sint ordine scripti notum tibi faciam: est enim haec quoque studiosis non iniucunda cognitio.
3 'De iaculatione equestri unus': hunc, cum praefectus alae militaret, pari ingenio curaque composuit. 'de uita Pomponi Secundi duo'; a quo singulariter amatus hoc memoriae amici quasi debitum munus
4 exsoluit. 'bellorum Germaniae uiginti'; quibus omnia quae cum Germanis gessimus bella collegit. incohauit cum in Germania militaret, somnio monitus: adstitit ei quiescenti Drusi Neronis effigies, qui Germaniae latissime uictor ibi periit, commendabat

4 fuit ... III. 3. 6 credere potes *om.* MV

24 12 BAEBIO *om. codd.* (*but* B *in index* adbaebiummacrum)

memoriam suam orabatque ut se ab iniuria obliuionis adsereret. 'Studiosi tres,' in sex uolumina propter amplitudinem diuisi, quibus oratorem ab incunabulis instituit et perfecit. 'dubii sermonis octo' scripsit sub Nerone nouissimis annis, cum omne studiorum genus paulo liberius et erectius periculosum seruitus fecisset. 'a fine Aufidi Bassi triginta unus.' 'naturae historiarum triginta septem,' opus diffusum, eruditum, nec minus uarium quam ipsa natura. 6

Miraris quod tot uolumina multaque in his tam scrupulosa homo occupatus absoluerit? magis miraberis, si scieris illum aliquandiu causas actitasse, decessisse anno sexto et quinquagensimo, medium tempus distentum impeditumque qua officiis maximis qua amicitia principum egisse. sed erat acre ingenium, incredibile studium, summa uigilantia. lucubrare Vulcanalibus incipiebat, non auspicandi causa sed studendi, statim a nocte multa, hieme uero ab hora septima, uel cum tardissime, octaua, saepe sexta. erat sane somni paratissimi, non nunquam etiam inter ipsa studia instantis et deserentis. ante lucem ibat ad Vespasianum imperatorem (nam ille quoque noctibus utebatur), inde ad delegatum sibi officium. reuersus domum, quod reliquum temporis studiis reddebat. post cibum saepe, quem interdiu leuem et facilem ueterum more sumebat, aestate, si quid otii, iacebat in sole, liber legebatur, 7 8 9 10

4 perfecit **BFoa** perficit **MVu** 6 erectius **BFVoua** rectius **M** 8 naturae **MVouFa** natura **BF** naturalium *Sichardus* 11 his **MVoua** iis **BF**

adnotabat excerpebatque. nihil enim legit quod non excerperet: dicere etiam solebat nullum esse librum
11 tam malum ut non aliqua parte prodesset. post solem plerumque frigida lauabatur: deinde gustabat dormiebatque minimum: mox quasi alio die studebat in cenae tempus. super hanc liber legebatur, adnota-
12 batur, et quidem cursim. memini quendam ex amicis, cum lector quaedam perperam pronuntiasset, reuocasse et repeti coegisse, huic auunculum meum dixisse 'intellexeras nempe?' cum ille adnuisset, 'cur ergo reuocabas? decem amplius uersus hac tua interpella-
13 tione perdidimus.' tanta erat parsimonia temporis. surgebat aestate a cena luce, hieme intra primam noctis, et tanquam aliqua lege cogente.

14 Haec inter medios labores urbisque fremitum. in secessu solum balinei tempus studiis eximebatur: cum dico balinei, de interioribus loquor; nam dum destringi-
15 tur tergiturque, audiebat aliquid aut dictabat. in itinere quasi solutus ceteris curis huic uni uacabat: ad latus notarius cum libro et pugillaribus, cuius manus hieme manicis muniebantur, ut ne caeli quidem asperitas ullum studiis tempus eriperet; qua ex causa Romae
16 quoque sella uehebatur. repeto me correptum ab eo cur ambularem: 'poteras' inquit 'has horas non perdere'; nam perire omne tempus arbitrabatur quod
17 studiis non impertiretur. hac intentione tot ista uolumina peregit electorumque commentarios centum sexaginta mihi reliquit, opisthographos quidem et

22 studiis *Cellarius* studii *codd.* 26 inpertiretur (-par- ou) **BFoua** (*cf. III. 15. 1*; *IV. 23. 3*) inpenderetur **MV**

minutissime scriptos; qua ratione multiplicatur hic numerus. referebat ipse potuisse se, cum procuraret in Hispania, uendere hos commentarios Larcio Licino quadringentis milibus nummum, et tunc aliquanto pauciores erant.

Nonne uidetur tibi recordanti quantum legerit, 18 quantum scripserit, nec in officiis ullis nec in amicitia principis fuisse, rursus, cum audis quid studiis laboris impenderit, nec scripsisse satis nec legisse? quid est enim quod non aut illae occupationes impedire aut haec instantia non possit efficere? itaque 19 soleo ridere, cum me quidam studiosum uocant, qui, si comparer illi, sum desidiosissimus. ego autem tantum, quem partim publica partim amicorum officia distringunt? quis ex istis qui tota uita litteris adsident collatus illi non quasi somno et inertiae deditus erubescat?

Extendi epistulam, cum hoc solum quod requirebas 20 scribere destinassem, quos libros reliquisset: confido tamen haec quoque tibi non minus grata quam ipsos libros futura, quae te non tantum ad legendos eos uerum etiam ad simile aliquid elaborandum possunt aemulationis stimulis excitare. uale.

1 minutissime **MV***F* minutissimis **BFoua** 3 larcio **Bo** lartio **ua** (*aut app.* **F**) largio **MV** licino **MV** licinio (Ly- **a**) **BFoua** 13 compararer **B** 18 cum **BFoua** quamuis **MV** 21 quae ... III. 11. 9 pluris *om.* **B**, *two leaves having been cut out*

25. (III. 7.)

C. PLINIVS CANINIO RVFO SVO S.

1 Modo nuntiatus est Silius Italicus in Neapolitano
2 suo inedia finisse uitam. causa mortis ualetudo. erat
illi natus insanabilis clauus, cuius taedio ad mortem
irreuocabili constantia decucurrit, usque ad supremum
diem beatus et felix, nisi quod minorem ex liberis
duobus amisit, sed maiorem melioremque florentem
3 atque etiam consularem reliquit. laeserat famam
suam sub Nerone (credebatur sponte accusasse); sed in
Vitelli amicitia sapienter se et comiter gesserat, ex
proconsulatu Asiae gloriam reportauerat, maculam
4 ueteris industriae laudabili otio abluerat. fuit inter
principes ciuitatis sine potentia, sine inuidia: saluta-
batur, colebatur, multumque in lectulo iacens cubiculo
semper non ex fortuna frequenti doctissimis sermoni-
5 bus dies transigebat, cum a scribendo uacaret. scribe-
bat carmina maiore cura quam ingenio, non nunquam
6 iudicia hominum recitationibus experiebatur. nouis-
sime ita suadentibus annis ab urbe secessit seque in
Campania tenuit, ac ne aduentu quidem noui principis
7 inde commotus est. magna Caesaris laus, sub quo
hoc liberum fuit, magna illius, qui hac libertate ausus
est uti. erat φιλόκαλος usque ad emacitatis repre-
8 hensionem. plures isdem in locis uillas possidebat
adamatisque nouis priores neglegebat. multum ubi-
que librorum, multum statuarum, multum imaginum,
quas non habebat modo uerum etiam uenerabatur,

25 16 frequenti Foua praesenti MV

Vergili ante omnes, cuius natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat, Neapoli maxime, ubi monimentum eius adire ut templum solebat.

In hac tranquillitate annum quintum et septua- 9
gensimum excessit, delicato magis corpore quam infirmo; utque nouissimus a Nerone factus est consul, ita postremus ex omnibus quos Nero consules fecerat decessit. illud etiam notabile, ultimus ex Neronianis consu- 10
laribus obiit quo consule Nero periit. quod me recordantem fragilitatis humanae miseratio subit. quid enim tam circumcisum, tam breue quam hominis 11
uita longissima? an non uidetur tibi Nero modo modo fuisse? cum interim ex iis qui sub illo gesserant consulatum nemo iam superest. quanquam quid hoc 12
miror? nuper L. Piso, pater Pisonis illius qui a Valerio Festo per summum facinus in Africa occisus est, dicere solebat neminem se uidere in senatu quem consul ipse sententiam rogauisset. tam angustis terminis 13
tantae multitudinis uiuacitas ipsa concluditur! ut mihi non uenia solum dignae uerum etiam laude uideantur illae regiae lacrimae. nam ferunt Xerxen, cum immensum exercitum oculis obisset, illacrimasse, quod tot milibus tam breuis immineret occasus. sed 14
tanto magis hoc quicquid est temporis fatilis et caduci, si non datur factis (nam horum materia in aliena manu), certe studiis proferamus, et quatenus nobis denegatur diu uiuere, relinquamus aliquid quo

1 uergilii **MVa** uirgilii **Fou** 5 excessit **MV***Fa* decessit (de- *over erasure* **F**) **Fou** 12 modo modo **MV** modo **Foua** 13 iis **Fa** illis **ou** his **MV** 23 breui *Leithäuser* 24 tanto **Foua** eo **MV** 26 certe **Foua** nos certe **M** noscere (*at end of line*) **V**

nos uixisse testemur. scio te stimulis non egere; me tamen tui caritas euocat ut currentem quoque instigem, sicut tu soles me. ἀγαθὴ δ' ἔρις, cum in uicem se mutuis exhortationibus amici ad amorem immortalitatis exacuunt. uale.

26. (III. 11.)

C. PLINIVS IVLIO GENITORI SVO S.

1 Est omnino Artemidori nostri tam benigna natura ut officia amicorum in maius extollat: inde etiam meum meritum ut uera ita supra meritum praedica-
2 tione circumfert. equidem, cum essent philosophi ab urbe summoti, fui apud illum in suburbano, et quo notabilius, hoc est periculosius, esset, fui praetor. pecuniam etiam, qua tunc illi ampliore opus erat, ut aes alienum exsolueret contractum ex pulcherrimis causis, mussantibus magnis quibusdam et locupletibus
3 amicis mutuatus ipse gratuitam dedi. atque haec feci, cum septem amicis meis aut occisis aut relegatis, occisis Senecione, Rustico, Heluidio, relegatis Maurico, Gratilla, Arria, Fannia, tot circa me iactis fulminibus quasi ambustus mihi quoque impendere idem exitium
4 certis quibusdam notis augurarer. non ideo tamen eximiam gloriam meruisse me, ut ille praedicat, credo
5 sed tantum effugisse flagitium. nam et C. Musonium, socerum eius, quantum licitum est per aetatem cum admiratione dilexi, et Artemidorum ipsum iam tum,

1 me *om.* F
26 7 IVLIO *om.* MV

cum in Syria tribunus militarem, arta familiaritate complexus sum, idque primum non nullius indolis dedi specimen, quod uirum aut sapientem aut proximum simillimumque sapienti intellegere sum uisus. nam 6 ex omnibus qui nunc se philosophos uocant uix unum aut alterum inuenies tanta sinceritate, tanta ueritate. mitto qua patientia corporis hiemes iuxta et aestates ferat, ut nullis laboribus cedat, ut nihil in cibo, in potu uoluptatibus tribuat, ut oculos animumque contineat. sunt haec magna, sed in alio; 7 in hoc uero minima, si ceteris uirtutibus comparentur, quibus meruit ut a C. Musonio ex omnibus omnium ordinum adsectatoribus gener adsumeretur. quae 8 mihi recordanti est quidem iucundum quod me cum apud alios tum apud te tantis laudibus cumulat, uereor tamen ne modum excedat, quem benignitas eius (illuc enim unde coepi reuertor) non solet tenere. nam in 9 hoc uno interdum uir alioqui prudentissimus honesto quidem sed tamen errore uersatur, quod pluris amicos suos quam sunt arbitratur. uale.

27. (III. 12.)

C. PLINIVS CATILIO SEVERO SVO S.

Veniam ad cenam, sed iam nunc paciscor sit expedita, 1 sit parca, 'Socraticis' tantum 'sermonibus' abundet, in his quoque teneat modum. erunt officia antelucana, 2

17 non solet **Foua** solet non **MV**

27 22 Severo *om.* **BMVa** (*but* **B** *in index* seuer·) 23 **sit expedita sit MVoua sit expedita BF**

in quae incidere impune ne Catoni quidem licuit, quem tamen C. Caesar ita reprehendit ut laudet. 3 describit enim eos quibus obuius fuerit, cum caput ebrii retexissent, erubuisse: deinde adicit 'putares non ab illis Catonem, sed illos a Catone deprehensos.' potuitne plus auctoritatis tribui Catoni quam si ebrius 4 quoque tam uenerabilis erat? nostrae tamen cenae ut apparatus et impendii sic temporis modus constet. neque enim ii sumus quos uituperare ne inimici quidem possint nisi ut simul laudent. uale.

28. (III. 16.)

C. PLINIVS NEPOTI SVO S.

1 Adnotasse uideor facta dictaque uirorum femina-
2 rumque alia clariora esse, alia maiora. confirmata est opinio mea hesterno Fanniae sermone. neptis haec Arriae illius quae marito et solacium mortis et exemplum fuit. multa referebat auiae suae non minora hoc sed obscuriora; quae tibi existimo tam mirabilia legenti fore quam mihi audienti fuerunt.

3 Aegrotabat Caecina Paetus, maritus eius, aegrotabat et filius, uterque mortifere, ut uidebatur. filius decessit eximia pulchritudine, pari uerecundia, et parentibus
4 non minus ob alia carus quam quod filius erat. huic illa ita funus parauit, ita duxit exsequias ut ignoraret maritus: quin immo, quotiens cubiculum eius intraret,

3 scribit *Casaubon* fuerit **BFoua** fuerat **MV**

28 20 Caecina .. aegrotabat *om.* **BF** maritus eius *om.* **MV**

uiuere filium atque etiam commodiorem esse simulabat, ac persaepe interroganti quid ageret puer, respondebat, 'bene quieuit, libenter cibum sumpsit.' deinde, cum diu cohibitae lacrimae uincerent prorumperentque, egrediebatur: tunc se dolori dabat: satiata, siccis oculis, composito uultu redibat, tanquam orbitatem foris reliquisset. praeclarum quidem illud eiusdem, ferrum stringere, perfodere pectus, extrahere pugionem, porrigere marito, addere uocem immortalem ac paene diuinam 'Paete, non dolet.' sed tamen ista facienti, dicenti gloria et aeternitas ante oculos erant; quo maius est sine praemio aeternitatis, sine praemio gloriae abdere lacrimas, operire luctum, amissoque filio matrem adhuc agere. 5 6

Scribonianus arma in Illyrico contra Claudium mouerat: fuerat Paetus in partibus: occiso Scriboniano Romam trahebatur. erat ascensurus nauem: Arria milites orabat ut simul imponeretur. 'nempe enim' inquit 'daturi estis consulari uiro seruulos aliquos, quorum e manu cibum capiat, a quibus uestiatur, a quibus calcietur: omnia sola praestabo.' non impetrauit: conduxit piscatoriam nauiculam ingensque nauigium minimo secuta est. 7 8 9

Eadem apud Claudium uxori Scriboniani, cum illa profiteretur indicium, 'ego' inquit 'te audiam, cuius in gremio Scribonianus occisus est, et uiuis?' ex quo manifestum est ei consilium pulcherrimae mortis non

5 tunc **MVFa** tum **BFou** 10 paete non dolet **BFoua** non dolet pacte **MV** ista facienti dicenti **BFa** ista facienti diligentique **ou** ista facienti ista dicenti **MV** 16 occiso **BFoua** et occiso **MV** 22 nauiculam **BFoua** nauculam **MV**

10 subitum fuisse. quin etiam, cum Thrasea, gener eius, deprecaretur ne mori pergeret, interque alia dixisset 'uis ergo filiam tuam, si mihi pereundum fuerit, mori mecum?' respondit 'si tam diu tantaque concordia
11 uixerit tecum quam ego cum Paeto, uolo.' auxerat hoc responso curam suorum, attentius custodiebatur: sensit et 'nihil agitis' inquit: 'potestis enim efficere
12 ut male moriar, ut non moriar non potestis.' dum haec dicit, exsiluit cathedra aduersoque parieti caput ingenti impetu impegit et corruit. focilata 'dixeram' inquit 'uobis inuenturam me quamlibet duram ad mortem uiam, si uos facilem negassetis.'

13 Videnturne haec tibi maiora illo 'Paete, non dolet,' ad quod per haec peruentum est? cum interim illud quidem ingens fama, haec nulla circumfert. unde colligitur quod initio dixi, alia esse clariora alia maiora. uale.

29. (III. 21.)

C. PLINIVS CORNELIO PRISCO SVO S.

1 Audio Valerium Martialem decessisse et moleste fero. erat homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer, et qui plurimum in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis, nec
2 candoris minus. prosecutus eram uiatico secedentem: dederam hoc amicitiae, dederam etiam uersiculis quos

8 ut non moriar **MVou** ne moriar **BFa** 14 per quod ad haec *Mommsen*

29 19 CORNELIO PRISCO **F** (*both text and mutilated margin*) **ou** (*and* **B** *in index*) PRISCO **B** (*in text*) **MVa**

de me composuit. fuit moris antiqui eos qui uel 3
singulorum laudes uel urbium scripserant aut honoribus aut pecunia ornare; nostris uero temporibus, ut alia speciosa et egregia, ita hoc in primis exoleuit. nam postquam desiimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus.

Quaeris qui sint uersiculi quibus gratiam rettuli? 4
remitterem te ad ipsum uolumen, nisi quosdam tenerem: tu, si placuerint hi, ceteros in libro requires.

adloquitur Musam, mandat ut domum meam Esquiliis 5
quaerat, adeat reuerenter:

sed ne tempore non tuo disertam
pulses ebria ianuam uideto:
totos dat tetricae dies Mineruae,
dum centum studet auribus uirorum
hoc quod saecula posterique possint
Arpinis quoque comparare chartis.
seras tutior ibis ad lucernas:
haec hora est tua, cum furit Lyaeus,
cum regnat rosa, cum madent capilli:
tunc me uel rigidi legant Catones.

Meritone eum qui haec de me scripsit et tunc dimisi 6
amicissime et nunc ut amicissimum defunctum esse dolco? dedit enim mihi quantum maximum potuit, daturus amplius, si potuisset. tametsi quid homini potest dari maius quam gloria et laus et aeternitas? at non erunt aeterna quae scripsit: non erunt fortasse, ille tamen scripsit tanquam essent futura. uale.

26 gloria et laus et aeternitas MVoua gloria et (et *om.* F) laus et aeternitas harum BF

LIBER IV.

30. (IV. 2.)

C. PLINIVS ATTIO CLEMENTI SVO S.

1 Regulus filium amisit, hoc uno malo indignus, quod nescio an malum putet. erat puer acris ingenii sed ambigui, qui tamen posset recta sectari, si patrem non 2 referret. hunc Regulus emancipauit, ut heres matris exsisteret; mancipatum (ita uulgo ex moribus hominis loquebantur) foeda et insolita parentibus indulgentiae simulatione captabat. incredibile, sed 3 Regulum cogita. amissum tamen luget insane. habebat puer mannulos multos et iunctos et solutos, habebat canes maiores minoresque, habebat luscinias, psittacos, merulas: omnes Regulus circa rogum 4 trucidavit. nec dolor erat ille, sed ostentatio doloris. conuenitur ad eum mira celebritate. cuncti detestantur, oderunt, et quasi probent, quasi diligant, cursant, frequentant, utque breuiter quod sentio enuntiem, in Regulo demerendo Regulum imitantur. 5 tenet se trans Tiberim in hortis, in quibus latissimum solum porticibus immensis, ripam statuis suis occupauit, ut est in summa auaritia sumptuosus, in summa

30 3 ATTIO *om. cod.* (*but* B *in index*) Adattium · clemen ·) 8 mancipatum **BFoua** emancipatum **MV***F* 9 homines **MV** 11 insane *om.* **BF**

infamia gloriosus. uexat ergo ciuitatem insaluberrimo 6
tempore, et quod uexat solacium putat. dicit se uelle
ducere uxorem: hoc quoque, sicut alia, peruerse.
audies breui nuptias lugentis, nuptias senis; quorum 7
alterum immaturum, alterum serum est. unde hoc 8
augurer quaeris? non quia adfirmat ipse, quo mendacius nihil est, sed quia certum est Regulum esse facturum quidquid fieri non oportet. uale.

31. (IV. 7.)

C. PLINIVS CATIO LEPIDO SVO S.

Saepe tibi dico inesse uim Regulo. mirum est 1
quam efficiat in quod incubuit placuit ei lugere
filium; luget ut nemo: placuit statuas eius et
imagines quam plurimas facere; hoc omnibus officinis
agit, illum coloribus, illum cera, illum aere, illum
argento, illum auro, ebore, marmore effingit. ipse 2
uero nuper adhibito ingenti auditorio librum de uita
eius recitauit, de uita pueri: recitauit tamen;
eundem librum in exemplaria transscriptum mille
per totam Italiam prouinciasque dimisit. scripsit
publice ut a decurionibus eligeretur uocalissimus
aliquis ex ipsis qui legeret eum populo: factum est.

Hanc ille uim, seu quo alio nomine uocanda est 3
intentio quidquid uelis obtinendi, si ad potiora

31 10 Catio *om. codd.* (*but* B *in index* Adcatium · lepidum) 17 nuper MV et nuper EFoua 18 de uita pueri recitauit *om.* EFa (*and 1 h.* u), *add.* MVo 19 librum *om.* MV, *add.* EFoua transscriptum mille EFa mille transscriptum MVou

uertisset, quantum boni efficere potuisset! quanquam minor uis bonis quam malis inest, ac sicut ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει, ita recta ingenia debilitat uerecundia, peruersa confirmat
4 audacia. exemplo est Regulus. imbecillum latus, os confusum, haesitans lingua, tardissima inuentio, memoria nulla, nihil denique praeter ingenium insanum; et tamen eo impudentia ipsoque illo furore
5 peruenit ut orator habeatur. itaque Herennius Senecio mirifice Catonis illud de oratore in hunc e contrario uertit 'orator est uir malus dicendi imperitus.' non me hercule Cato ipse tam bene uerum oratorem quam hic Regulum expressit.

6 Habesne quo tali epistulae parem gratiam referas? habes, si scripseris num aliquis in municipio uestro ex sodalibus meis, num etiam ipse tu hunc luctuosum Reguli librum ut circulator in foro legeris, ἐπάρας scilicet, ut ait Demosthenes, τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθὼς
7 καὶ λαρυγγίζων. est enim tam ineptus ut risum magis possit exprimere quam gemitum: credas non de puero scriptum sed a puero uale.

32. (IV. 11.)

C. PLINIVS CORNELIO MINICIANO SVO S.

1 Audistine Valerium Licinianum in Sicilia profiteri? nondum te puto audisse; est enim recens nuntius. praetorius hic modo inter eloquentissimos causarum

9 ut orator **MV** ut plurimis orator **BFou** ut a plurimis orator **a** 19 risum ... 20 gemitum *om.* **MV**

actores habebatur; nunc eo decidit ut exsul de senatore, rhetor de oratore fieret. itaque ipse in 2 praefatione dixit dolenter et grauiter 'quos tibi, Fortuna, ludos facis? facis enim ex professoribus senatores, ex senatoribus professores.' cui sententiae tantum bilis, tantum amaritudinis inest ut mihi uideatur ideo professus ut hoc diceret. idem, cum 3 Graeco pallio amictus intrasset (carent enim togae iure quibus aqua et igni interdictum est), postquam se composuit circumspexitque habitum suum, 'Latine' inquit 'declamaturus sum.'

Dices tristia et miseranda, dignum tamen illum, 4 qui haec ipsa studia incesti scelere macularit. con- 5 fessus est quidem incestum, sed incertum utrum quia uerum erat an quia grauiora metuebat, si negasset. fremebat enim Domitianus aestuabatque in ingenti inuidia destitutus. nam cum Corneliam, Vestalium 6 maximam, defodere uiuam concupisset, ut qui illustrari saeculum suum eius modi exemplo arbitraretur, pontificis maximi iure seu potius immanitate tyranni, licentia domini, reliquos pontifices non in Regiam sed in Albanam uillam conuocavit. nec minore scelere quam quod ulcisci uidebatur absentem inauditamque damnauit incesti, cum ipse fratris filiam incesto non polluisset solum uerum etiam occidisset: nam uidua abortu periit.

32 4 ex ... 5 professores **BFoua** ex senatoribus professores ex professoribus senatores **MV*F*** 16 in ingenti **BF** ingenti **MVoua** 17 uestalium maximam **MV** maximillam uestalem **BFoua** 18 concupisset **MVou** cupisset **BFa** 19 exemplo **BFa** exemplis **MVou**

7 Missi statim pontifices qui defodiendam necandamque curarent. illa nunc ad Vestam nunc ad ceteros deos manus tendens, multa, sed hoc frequentissime clamitabat 'me Caesar incestam putat, qua
8 sacra faciente uicit, triumphauit?' blandiens haec an irridens, ex fiducia sui an ex contemptu principis dixerit dubium est. dixit, donec ad supplicium, nescio an innocens, certe tanquam innocens, ducta est.
9 quin etiam cum in illud subterraneum cubiculum demitteretur haesissetque descendenti stola, uertit se ac recollegit, cumque ei carnifex manum daret, auersata est et resiluit foedumque contagium quasi plane a casto puroque corpore nouissima sanctitate reiecit, omnibusque numeris pudoris πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἔσχεν
10 εὐσχήμων πεσεῖν. praeterea Celer, eques Romanus, cui Cornelia obiciebatur, cum in comitio uirgis caederetur, in hac uoce perstiterat 'quid feci? nihil feci.'
11 Ardebat ergo Domitianus et crudelitatis et iniquitatis infamia. arripit Licinianum quod in agris suis occultasset Corneliae libertam. ille ab iis quibus erat curae praemonetur, si comitium et uirgas pati nollet, ad confessionem confugeret, quasi ad ueniam: fecit.
12 locutus est pro absente Herennius Senecio tale quiddam quale est illud κεῖται Πάτροκλος. ait enim 'ex aduocato nuntius factus sum: recessit Licinianus.'

8 tanquam innocens **MV** tanquam nocens (*corr. from* innocens **B**) **BFoua** 9 cubiculum *om.* **MV**, *add.* **BFoua** 11 carnifex manum **BFoua** manum carnifex **MV** 12 contagium **BFa** contactum **MVou** plane **MVa**, *om.* **BFou** 21 iis **MVa** his **BFou***f* 26 recessit licinianus **BFoa** licinianus recessit **MVu**

gratum hoc Domitiano, adeo quidem ut gaudio pro- 13
deretur, diceretque 'absoluit nos Licinianus.' adiecit etiam non esse uerecundiae eius instandum : ipsi uero permisit, si qua posset, ex rebus suis raperet, ante quam bona publicarentur, exsiliumque molle uelut praemium dedit. ex quo tamen postea clementia 14 diui Neruae translatus est in Siciliam, ubi nunc profitetur seque de fortuna praefationibus uindicat.

Vides quam obsequenter paream tibi, qui non 15 solum res urbanas uerum etiam peregrinas tam sedulo scribo ut altius repetam. et sane putabam te, quia tunc afuisti, nihil aliud de Liciniano audisse quam relegatum ob incestum. summam enim rerum nuntiat fama, non ordinem. mereor ut uicissim 16 quid in oppido tuo, quid in finitimis agatur (solent enim notabilia quaedam incidere) perscribas : denique quidquid uoles, dum modo non minus longa epistula nunties. ego non paginas tantam sed etiam uersus syllabasque numerabo. uale.

33. (IV. 13.)

C. PLINIVS CORNELIO TACITO SVO S.

Saluum in urbem uenisse gaudeo; uenisti autem, 1 si quando alias, nunc maxime mihi desideratus. ipse pauculis adhuc diebus in Tusculano commorabor, ut

16 **notabilia quaedam** BFoua (*cf. III. 1. 2* confusa quaedam) **quaedam notabilia** MV 18 **nunties** BFoua **nuntia** MV **etiam uersus** BFoua **uersus etiam** MV*f*

22 saluum te in a, *om.* te *rell.*

2 opusculum quod est in manibus absoluam. uereor enim ne, si hanc intentionem iam in fine laxauero, aegre resumam. interim ne quid festinationi meae pereat, quod sum praesens petiturus hac quasi praecursoria epistula rogo. sed prius accipe causas rogandi.

3 Proxime cum in patria mea fui, uenit ad me salutandum municipis mei filius praetextatus. huic ego 'studes?' inquam. respondit 'etiam.' 'ubi?' 'Mediolani.' 'cur non hic?' et pater eius (erat enim una atque etiam ipse adduxerat puerum) 'quia nullos hic
4 praeceptores habemus.' 'quare nullos? nam uehementer intererat uestra, qui patris estis,' et opportune complures patres audiebant, 'liberos uestros hic potissimum discere. ubi enim aut iucundius morarentur quam in patria, aut pudicius continerentur quam sub oculis parentum, aut minore sumptu quam domi?
5 quantulum est ergo collata pecunia conducere praeceptores, quodque nunc in habitationes, in uiatica, in ea quae peregre emuntur (omnia autem peregre emuntur) impenditis adicere mercedibus? atque adeo ego, qui nondum liberos habeo, paratus sum pro re publica nostra, quasi pro filia uel parente, tertiam partem eius
6 quod conferre uobis placebit dare. totum etiam pollicerer, nisi timerem ne hoc munus meum quandoque

2 fine **MVu** finem **BFoa** laxauero **BFoua** intermisero **MV***F* 4 praecursoria **MV***F* praeceptoria (praecursoria *2 h.* **o**) **BFoa**, *om.* **u** 5 rogandi proxime **MV** rogandi deinde ipsum quod peto proxime **RFoua** (*but* deinde ips *over eras. of* proxime cū *in* **F**) 20 omnia autem peregre emuntur *om.* **BFoua**, *add.* **MV** 21 addicere **o** *Mommsen* adeo *om.* **BFoua**, *add.* **MV**

ambitu corrumperetur, ut accidere multis in locis uideo, in quibus praeceptores publice conducuntur. huic uitio uno remedio occurri potest, si parentibus solis ius conducendi relinquatur isdemque religio recte iudicandi necessitate collationis addatur. nam qui fortasse de alieno neglegentes, certe de suo diligentes erunt dabuntque operam ne a me pecuniam [non] nisi dignus accipiat, si acceptarus et ab ipsis erit. proinde consentite, conspirate maioremque animum ex meo sumite, qui cupio esse quam plurimum quod debeam conferre. nihil honestius praestare liberis uestris, nihil gratius patriae potestis. educentur hic qui hic nascuntur statimque ab infantia natale solum amare, frequentare consuescant. atque utinam tam claros praeceptores inducatis ut finitimis oppidis studia hinc petantur, utque nunc liberi uestri aliena in loca, ita mox alieni in hunc locum confluant!'

Haec putaui altius et quasi a fonte repetenda, quo magis scires quam gratum mihi foret, si susciperes quod iniungo. iniungo autem et pro rei magnitudine rogo ut ex copia studiosorum, quae ad te ex admiratione ingenii tui conuenit, circumspicias praeceptores quos sollicitare possimus, sub ea tamen condicione ne cui fidem meam obstringam. omnia enim libera parentibus seruo. illi iudicent, illi eligant: ego mihi curam tantum et impendium uindico. proinde si quis fuerit repertus qui ingenio suo fidat, eat illuc ea lege ut hinc nihil aliud certum quam fiduciam suam ferat. uale.

3 uno remedio occurri potest **BFa** occurri uno remedio potest **MVu** occurri potest uno remedio **o** 7 a me **MVou** eam **BFa** non *bracketed by Gesner* 27 ea lege **BFoua** ex lege **MV**

34. (IV. 19.)

C. PLINIVS CALPVRNIAE HISPVLLAE SVAE S.

1 Cum sis pietatis exemplum, fratremque optimum et amantissimum tui pari caritate dilexeris, filiamque eius ut tuam diligas, nec tantum amitae ei uerum etiam patris amissi adfectum repraesentes, non dubito maximo tibi gaudio fore, cum cognoueris dignam 2 patre, dignam te, dignam auo euadere. summum est acumen, summa frugalitas. amat me, quod castitatis indicium est. accedit his studium litterarum, quod ex mei caritate concepit. meos libellos habet, lecti- 3 tat, ediscit etiam. qua illa sollicitudine, cum uideor acturus, quanto, cum egi, gaudio adficitur! disponit qui nuntient sibi quem adsensum, quos clamores excitarim, quem euentum iudicii tulerim. eadem, si quando recito, in proximo discreta uelo sedet laudes- 4 que nostras auidissimis auribus excipit. uersus quidem meos cantat etiam formatque cithara, non artifice aliquo docente sed amore, qui magister est 5 optimus. his ex causis in spem certissimam adducor perpetuam nobis maioremque in dies futuram esse concordiam. non enim aetatem meam aut corpus, quae paulatim occidunt ac senescunt, sed gloriam 6 diligit. nec aliud decet tuis manibus educatam, tuis praeceptis institutam, quae nihil in contubernio tuo uiderit nisi sanctum honestumque, quae denique

34 5 ei (eius **Foua**) uerum etiam patris amissi adfectum (effectum **a**) **BFoua** ei adfectum uerum etiam patris amissi **MV** 16 proximo **MVu** proximum **BFoa**

amare me ex tua praedicatione consueuerit. nam 7
cum matrem meam parentis loco uerereris, me a puritia statim formare, laudare, talemque qualis nunc uxori meae uideor ominari solebas. certatim ergo 8
tibi gratias agimus, ego quod illam mihi, illa quod me sibi dederis, quasi in uicem elegeris. uale.

35. (IV. 22.)

C. PLINIVS SEMPRONIO RVFO SVO S.

Interfui principis optimi cognitioni, in consilium 1
adsumptus. gymnicus agon apud Viennenses ex cuiusdam testamento celebrabatur. hunc Trebonius Rufinus, uir egregius nobisque amicus, in duumuiratu suo tollendum abolendumque curauit. negabatur ex auctoritate publica fecisse. egit ipse causam non 2
minus feliciter quam diserte. commendabat actionem quod tanquam homo Romanus et bonus ciuis in negotio suo mature et grauiter loquebatur. cum sententiae 3
perrogarentur, dixit Iunius Mauricus, quo uiro nihil firmius, nihil uerius, non esse restituendum Viennensibus agona: adiecit 'uellem etiam Romae tolli posset.'

Constanter, inquis, et fortiter. quidni? sed hoc 4
a Maurico nouum non est. idem apud Neruam

2 uene|reris me **B** (*but* -ne- *projecting further than usual into margin, and possibly 2 l.*) uenereris me **F** uenerere me **oua** dilexeris meque **MV** dilexeris me **F**

35 8 svo **BFoa**, *om.* **MVu** 21 hoc a maurico **MV** hoc maurico **BF***Fa* hoc fortiter maurico **ou** 22 neruam imperatorem **BFoua** (*cf. III. 5. 9; IV. 17. 8. but VII. 31. 4*) imperatorem Neruam **MV***F*

imperatorem non minus fortiter. cenabat Nerua cum paucis: Veiento proximus atque etiam in sinu recumbebat: dixi omnia, cum hominem nominaui. incidit sermo de Catullo Messalino, qui luminibus orbatus ingenio saeuo mala caecitatis addiderat: non uerebatur, non erubescebat, non miserebatur; quo saepius a Domitiano non secus ac tela, quae et ipsa caeca et improuida feruntur, in optimum quemque contorquebatur. de huius nequitia sanguinariisque sententiis in commune omnes super cenam loquebantur, cum ipse imperator 'quid putamus passurum fuisse, si uiueret?' et Mauricus 'nobiscum cenaret.'

Longius abii, libens tamen. placuit agona tolli, qui mores Viennensium infecerat, ut noster hic omnium. nam Viennensium uitia intra ipsos residunt, nostra late uagantur, utque in corporibus sic in imperio, grauissimus est morbus qui a capite diffunditur. uale.

1 non minus *om.* **BF**, *add. rell.* forte **BF** fortiter *rell.* 4 catullo *om.* **BF**, *add.* (Catulo **a**) *rell.* orbatus **BFua** orbus **o** captus **MV** 6 quo *om.* **BFa**, *add. rell.* 10 cum **BMV***F* tum (*app. corr. fr.* cum **F**) **Foua** 12 et *om.* **BFou**, *add.* **MVa**

LIBER V.

36. (V. 3.)

C. PLINIVS TITIO ARISTONI SVO S.

Cum plurima officia tua mihi grata et iucunda sunt, 1
tum uel maxime quod me celandum non putasti fuisse
apud te de uersiculis meis multum copiosumque ser-
monem, eumque diuersitate iudiciorum longius pro-
cessisse, exstitisse etiam quosdam qui scripta quidem
ipsa non improbarent, me tamen amice simpliciterque
reprehenderent quod haec scriberem recitaremque.
quibus ego, ut augeam meam culpam, ita respondeo: 2
facio non nunquam uersiculos seueros parum, facio;
nam etiam comoedias audio, et specto mimos, et
lyricos lego, et Sotadicos intellego; aliquando prae-
terea rideo, iocor, ludo, utque omnia innoxiae remis-
sionis genera breuiter amplectar, homo sum.

Nec uero moleste fero hanc esse de moribus meis 3
existimationem, ut qui nesciunt talia doctissimos,
grauissimos, sanctissimos homines scriptitasse me scri-
bere mirentur. ab illis autem quibus notum est quos 4
quantosque auctores sequar facile impetrari posse
confido ut errare me, sed cum illis sinant quorum
non seria modo uerum etiam lusus exprimere lau-
dabile est. an ego uerear (neminem uiuentium, ne 5
quam in speciem adulationis incidam, nominabo), sed
ego uerear ne me non satis deceat quod decuit

36 12 facio nam et (et *corr. 1 h. from* etiam **B**) comoedias **BFMa** facio et comoedias audio **ouF** 14 Sotadicos *coni. Catanaeus*[2] socraticos *codd.* satyricos *F*

M. Tullium, C. Caluum, Asinium Pollionem, M. Messallam, Q. Hortensium, M. Brutum, L. Sullam, Q. Catulum, Q. Scaeuolam, Ser. Sulpicium, Varronem, Torquatum, immo Torquatos, C. Memmium, Lentulum Gaetulicum, Annaeum Senecam, et proxime Verginium Rufum, et si non sufficiunt exempla priuata, diuum Iulium, diuum Augustum, diuum Neruam, Tibe-
6 rium Caesarem? Neronem enim transeo, quamuis sciam non corrumpi in deterius quae aliquando etiam a malis, sed honesta manere quae saepius a bonis fiunt. inter quos uel praecipue numerandus est P. Vergilius, Cornelius Nepos, et prius Ennius Acciusque. non quidem hi senatores, sed sanctitas morum non distat ordinibus.
7 Recito tamen, quod illi an fecerint nescio. etiam: sed illi iudicio suo poterant esse contenti, mihi modestior constantia est quam ut satis absolutum putem
8 quod a me probetur. itaque has recitandi causas sequor, primum, quod ipse qui recitat aliquanto acrius scriptis suis auditorum reuerentia intendit, deinde, quod de quibus dubitat quasi ex consilii sententia
9 statuit. multa etiam a multis admonetur, et si non admoneatur, quid quisque sentiat perspicit ex uultu, oculis, nutu, manu, murmure, silentio; quae satis apertis notis iudicium ab humanitate discernunt.
10 atque adeo, si cui forte eorum qui interfuerunt curae fuerit eadem illa legere, intelleget me quaedam aut

5 annaeum senecam (seneccam **BF**) **BFoua** annaeum senecam lucanum **M** Annaeum Senecam et Lucanum *F* Annaeum Senecam, Annaeum Lucanum *Keil* 11 uergilius **M** uirgilius **BFoua** ennius acciusque (actiusque **ou**) **BFoua** accius enniusque **M** 16 constantia] conscientia *Casaubon* (*but cf. V. 12. 4*) 19 reuerentia **a** reuerentiam **BFMou**

commutasse aut praeterisse, fortasse etiam ex suo iudicio, quamuis ipse nihil dixerit mihi. atque haec 11
ita disputo, quasi populum in auditorium, non in cubiculum amicos aduocarim, quos plures habere multis gloriosum, reprehensioni nemini fuit. uale

37. (V. 5.)

C. PLINIVS NOVIO MAXIMO SVO S.

Nuntiatum mihi est C. Fannium decessisse, qui 1
nuntius me graui dolore confudit, primum, quod amaui hominem elegantem, disertum, deinde, quod iudicio eius uti solebam. erat enim natura acutus, usu exercitatus, ueritate promptissimus. angit me super ista 2
casus ipsius: decessit ueteri testamento, omisit quos maxime diligebat, prosecutus est quibus offensior erat. sed hoc utcumque tolerabile, grauius illud, quod pulcherrimum opus imperfectum reliquit. quamuis enim 3
agendis causis distringeretur, scribebat tamen exitus occisorum aut relegatorum a Nerone, et iam tres libros absoluerat, subtiles et diligentes et Latinos atque inter sermonem historiamque medios, ac tanto magis reliquos perficere cupiebat quanto frequentius hi lectitabantur. mihi autem uidetur acerba semper 4
et immatura mors eorum qui immortale aliquid parant. nam qui uoluptatibus dediti quasi in diem uiuunt uiuendi causas cotidie finiunt: qui uero posteros

2 atque haec ita disputo **BFa** atque ita hoc disputo **ou** sed haec ita disputo **M**

37 8 nuntiatum mihi est **M** nuntiatur (nonciatur **F** nunciatur **u**) mihi **BFoua** 11 natura acutus **BFoua** acutus natura **M** 12 ueritate] **ubertate** *Mommsen*

cogitant et memoriam sui operibus extendunt, his nulla mors non repentina est, ut quae semper incohatum aliquid abrumpat.

5 Gaius quidem Fannius quod accidit multo ante praesensit. uisus est sibi per nocturnam quietem iacere in lectulo suo compositus in habitum studentis, habere ante se scrinium (ita solebat): mox imaginatus est uenisse Neronem, in toro sedisse, prompsisse primum librum quem de sceleribus eius ediderat eumque ad extremum reuoluisse, idem in secundo 6 ac tertio fecisse, tunc abisse. expauit, et sic interpretatus est, tanquam idem sibi futurus esset scribendi finis qui fuisset illi legendi. et fuit idem.

7 Quod me recordantem miseratio subit quantum uigiliarum, quantum laboris exhauserit frustra. occurrant animo mea mortalitas, mea scripta. nec dubito te quoque eadem cogitatione terreri pro istis quae 8 inter manus habes. proinde, dum suppetit uita, enitamur ut mors quam paucissima quae abolere possit inueniat. uale.

38. (V. 14.)

C. PLINIVS PONTIO ALLIFANO SVO S.

1 Secesseram in municipium, cum mihi nuntiatum est Cornutum Tertullum accepisse Aemiliae uiae curam. 2 exprimere non possum quanto sim gaudio adfectus et ipsius et meo nomine; ipsius, quod, sit licet, sicut est, ab omni ambitione longe remotus, debet tamen ei iucundus honor esse ultro datus; meo, quod aliquanto magis me delectat mandatum mihi officium, postquam

8 sedisse BFa resedisse Mou 10 reuoluisse oua reuoluisset M uoluisse BF

par Cornuto datum uideo. neque enim augeri digni- 3
tate quam aequari bonis gratius. Cornuto autem quid
melius? quid sanctius? quid in omni genere laudis ad
exemplar antiquitatis expressius? quod mihi cogni-
tum est non fama, qua alioqui optima et meritissima
fruitur, sed longis magnisque experimentis. una 4
diligimus, una dileximus omnes fere quos aetas nostra
in utroque sexu aemulandos tulit; quae societas ami-
citiarum artissima nos familiaritate coniunxit. acces- 5
sit uinculum necessitudinis publicae; idem enim mihi,
ut scis, collega quasi uoto petitus in praefectura
aerarii fuit, fuit et in consulatu. tum ego qui uir et
quantus esset altissime inspexi, cum sequerer ut magi-
strum, ut parentem uererer, quod non tam aetatis
maturitate quam uitae merebatur. his ex causis ut illi 6
sic mihi gratulor, nec priuatim magis quam publice,
quod tandem homines non ad pericula, ut prius, uerum
ad honores uirtute perueniunt.

In infinitum epistulam extendam, si gaudio meo in- 7
dulgeam. praeuertor ad ea quae me agentem hic
nuntius deprehendit. eram cum prosocero meo, eram 8
cum amita uxoris, eram cum amicis diu desideratis,
circumibam agellos, audiebam multum rusticarum
querelarum, rationes legebam inuitus et cursim (aliis
enim chartis, aliis sum litteris initiatus), coeperam
etiam itineri me praeparare. nam includor angustiis 9
commeatus, eoque ipso quod delegatum Cornuto audio
officium mei admoneor. cupio te quoque sub idem

38 4 exemplar **oua** exemplum **M** 12 aerarii fuit fuit et **Ma** aerarii fuit et **ou** 13 inspexi **oua** inspexeram **M** 20 praeuertor **Moa** praeuertam **u**

tempus Campania tua remittat, ne quis, cum in urbem rediero, contubernio nostro dies pereat. uale.

39. (V. 16.)

C. PLINIVS AEFVLANO MARCELLINO SVO S.

1 Tristissimus haec tibi scribo, Fundani nostri filia minore defuncta, qua puella nihil unquam festiuius, amabilius, nec modo longiore uita sed prope immor-
2 talitate dignius uidi. nondum annos XIII. impleuerat, et iam illi anilis prudentia, matronalis grauitas erat, et tamen suauitas puellaris cum uirginali uerecundia.
3 ut illa patris ceruicibus inhaerebat! ut nos amicos paternos et amanter et modeste complectebatur! ut nutrices, ut paedagogos, ut praeceptores pro suo quemque officio diligebat! quam studiose, quam intellegenter lectitabat! ut parce custoditeque ludebat!
qua illa temperantia, qua patientia, qua etiam con-
4 stantia nouissimam ualetudinem tulit! medicis obsequebatur, sororem, patrem adhortabatur, ipsamque se destitutam corporis uiribus uigore animi sustinebat.
5 durauit hic illi usque ad extremum, nec aut spatio ualetudinis aut metu mortis infractus est, quo plures grauioresque nobis causas relinqueret et desiderii et
6 doloris. o triste plane acerbumque funus! o morte ipsa mortis tempus indignius! iam destinata erat egregio iuueni, iam electus nuptiarum dies, iam nos uocati. quod gaudium quo maerore mutatum est!

39 5 filia minore (filiam inore **M**) **Ma** filia minor **ou** filia minor est *edd.* 8 XIII. *I have written, following the inscription on her tombstone* (*C.I.L.* VI. 16631 V · A · XII · M · XI · D · VII) XIIII. **Mou** quatuordecim **a** impleuerat **Mua** expleuerat **o**

Non possum exprimere uerbis quantum animo uul- 7
nus acceperim, cum audiui Fundanum ipsum, ut multa
luctuosa dolor inuenit, praecipientem, quod in uestes,
margarita, gemmas fuerat erogaturus, hoc in tus et
unguenta et odores impenderetur. est quidem ille 8
eruditus et sapiens, ut qui se ab ineunte aetate altiori-
bus studiis artibusque dediderit, sed nunc omnia quae
audiit saepe, quae dixit, aspernatur, expulsisque uirtu-
tibus aliis pietatis est totus. ignosces, laudabis etiam, 9
si cogitaueris quid amiserit. amisit enim filiam quae
non minus mores eius quam os uultumque referebat,
totumque patrem mira similitudine exscripserat
proinde si quas ad eum de dolore tam iusto litteras 10
mittes, memento adhibere solacium, non quasi casti-
gatorium et nimis forte, sed molle et humanum. quod
ut facilius admittat, multum faciet medii temporis
spatium. ut enim crudum adhuc uulnus medentium 11
manus reformidat, deinde patitur atque ultro requirit,
sic recens animi dolor consolationes reicit ac refugit,
mox desiderat et clementer admotis adquiescit. uale.

40. (V. 19.)

C. PLINIVS VALERIO PAVLINO SVO S.

Video quam molliter tuos habeas: quo simplicius 1
tibi confitebor qua indulgentia meos tractem est 2
mihi semper in animo et Homericum illud πατὴρ δ' ὡς
ἤπιος ἦεν, et hoc nostrum 'pater familiae.' quod si
essem natura asperior et durior, frangeret me tamen
infirmitas liberti mei Zosimi, cui tanto maior humani-

4 margarita M margaritas **oua** tus et unguenta M tura et unguenta **a** tura et in unguenta **ou**

3 tas exhibenda est, quanto nunc illa magis eget. homo probus, officiosus, litteratus; et ars quidem eius et quasi inscriptio comoedus, in qua plurimum facit nam pronuntiat acriter, sapienter, apte, decenter etiam; utitur et cithara perite, ultra quam comoedo necesse est. idem tam commode orationes et historias et carmina legit ut hoc solum didicisse uideatur.

4 Haec tibi sedulo exposui, quo magis scires quam multa unus mihi et quam iucunda ministeria praestaret. accedit longa iam caritas hominis, quam ipsa pericula 5 auxerunt. est enim ita natura comparatum ut nihil aeque amorem incitet et accendat quam carendi metus, 6 quem ego pro hoc non semel patior. nam ante aliquot annos, dum intente instanterque pronuntiat, sanguinem reiecit, atque ob hoc in Aegyptum missus a me, post longam peregrinationem confirmatus rediit nuper: deinde dum per continuos dies nimis imperat uoci, ueteris infirmitatis tussicula admonitus, rursus sanguinem reddidit.

7 Qua ex causa destinaui eum mittere in praedia tua quae Foro Iuli possides. audiui enim te saepe referentem esse ibi et aera salubrem et lac eius modi cura- 8 tionibus accommodatissimum. rogo ergo scribas tuis ut illi uilla, ut domus pateat, offerant etiam sumptibus 9 eius, si quid opus erit; erit autem opus modico. est enim tam parcus et continens ut non solum delicias uerum etiam necessitates ualetudinis frugalitate restringat. ego proficiscenti tantum uiatici dabo quantum sufficiat eunti in tua. uale.

40 11 est enim ita natura M est enim a natura a est enim natura ou 29 sufficiat eunti M sufficit et eunti ou sufficit eunti a

LIBER VI.

41. (VI. 2.)

C. PLINIVS ARRIANO SVO S.

Soleo non nunquam in iudiciis quaerere M. Regu- 1
lum, nolo enim dicere, desiderare. cur ergo quaero?
habebat studiis honorem, timebat, pallebat, scribebat, 2
quamuis non posset ediscere. illud ipsum, quod
oculum modo dextrum modo sinistrum circumlinebat,
dextrum, si a petitore, alterum, si a possessore esset
acturus, quod candidum splenium in hoc aut in illud
supercilium transferebat, quod semper haruspices
consulebat de actionis euentu, a nimia superstitione,
sed tamen et a magno studiorum honore ueniebat.
iam illa perquam iucunda una dicentibus, quod libera 3
tempora petebat, quod audituros corrogabat. quid
enim iucundius quam sub alterius inuidia quam diu
uelis et in alieno auditorio quasi deprehensum com-
mode dicere?

Sed utcumque se habent ista, bene fecit Regulus 4
quod est mortuus; melius, si ante. nunc enim sane
poterat sine malo publico uiuere sub eo principe sub
quo nocere non poterat. ideo fas est non nunquam

41 7 posset ediscere (posse te discere **M**) **Mou** posset dediscere **a** 12 animia (*corr. fr.* animi *2 h.*) **M** animi **oua** 13 et a magno **Ma** et magno **ou**

5 eum quaerere. nam postquam obiit ille, increbruit passim et inualuit consuetudo binas uel singulas clepsydras, interdum etiam dimidias et dandi et petendi. nam et qui dicunt egisse malunt quam agere et qui audiunt finire quam iudicare. tanta neglegentia, tanta desidia, tanta denique irreuerentia
6 studiorum periculorumque est. an nos sapientiores maioribus nostris, nos legibus ipsis iustiores, quae tot horas, tot dies, tot comperendinationes largiuntur? hebetes illi et supra modum tardi, nos apertius dicimus, celerius intellegimus, religiosius iudicamus, quia paucioribus clepsydris praecipitamus causas
7 quam diebus explicari solebant? o Regule, qui ambitione ab omnibus obtinebas quod fidei paucissimi praestant!

Equidem quotiens iudico, quod uel saepius facio quam dico, quantum quis plurimum postulat aquae
8 do. etenim temerarium existimo diuinare quam spatiosa sit causa inaudita tempusque negotio finire cuius modum ignores, praesertim cum primam religioni suae iudex patientiam debeat, quae pars magna iustitiae est. at quaedam superuacua dicuntur. etiam: sed satius est et haec dici quam non dici
9 necessaria. praeterea an sint superuacua, nisi cum audieris, scire non possis. sed de his melius coram, ut de pluribus uitiis ciuitatis. nam tu quoque amore communium soles emendari cupere quae iam corrigere difficile est.

8 quae tot horas quae tot dies **a** 20 primum *Sichardus* 26 amore communium **Moua** amore communium ciuium *F* amore communi *Sichardus* amore communi omnium *Mommsen*

Nunc respiciamus domos nostras. ecquid omnia in tua recte? in mea noui nihil. mihi autem et gratiora sunt bona, quod perseuerant, et leuiora incommoda, quod adsueui. uale.

42. (VI. 4.)

C. PLINIVS CALPVRNIAE SVAE S.

Nunquam sum magis de occupationibus meis questus, quae me non sunt passae aut proficiscentem te ualetudinis causa in Campaniam prosequi aut profectam e uestigio subsequi. nunc enim praecipue simul esse cupiebam, ut oculis meis crederem quid uiribus, quid corpusculo adparares, ecquid denique secessus uoluptates regionisque abundantiam inoffensa transmitteres. equidem etiam fortem te non sine cura desiderarem; est enim suspensum et anxium de eo quem ardentissime diligas interdum nihil scire: nunc uero me cum absentiae tum infirmitatis tuae ratio incerta et uaria sollicitudine exterret. uereor omnia, imaginor omnia, quaeque natura metuentum est, ea maxime mihi quae maxime abominor fingo. quo impensius rogo ut timori meo cotidie singulis uel etiam binis epistulis consulas. ero enim securior, dum lego, statimque timebo, cum legero. uale.

42 12 adparares **M** adpareres **a** acquireres **ou** 13 uoluptates **a** uoluptatis **Mou** inoffensa ualetudine *Sicharius* 19 imaginor omnia **M**, *om.* **oua**

43. (VI. 7.)

C. PLINIVS CALPVRNIAE SVAE S.

1 Scribis te absentia mea non mediocriter adfici unumque habere solacium, quod pro me libellos meos
2 teneas, saepe etiam in uestigio meo colloces. gratum est quod nos requiris, gratum quod his fomentis adquiescis: in uicem ego epistulas tuas lectito atque identidem in manus quasi nouas sumo; sed eo magis
3 ad desiderium tui accendor. nam cuius litterae tantum habent suauitatis, huius sermonibus quantum dulcedinis inest! tu tamen quam frequentissime scribe, licet hoc ita me delectet ut torqueat. uale.

44. (VI. 10.)

C. PLINIVS ALBINO SVO S.

1 Cum uenissem in socrus meae uillam Alsiensem, quae aliquando Rufi Vergini fuit, ipse mihi locus optimi illius et maximi uiri desiderium non sine dolore renouauit. hunc enim incolere secessum atque etiam senectutis suae nidulum uocare consueuerat.
2 quocumque me contulissem, illum animus, illum oculi requirebant. libuit etiam monimentum eius uidere,
3 et uidisse paenituit. est enim adhuc imperfectum, nec difficultas operis in causa, modici ac potius exigui, sed inertia eius cui cura mandata est. subit indi-

43 6 est ... gratum **M**, *om.* **oua** 11 quam **M**, *om.* **oua**

44 16 aliquando **oua** aliquandiu **M** 18 incolere **oa** (*cf. II. 17. 29*) in colore **u** colere **M**

gnatio cum miseratione, post decimum mortis annum reliquias neglectumque cinerem sine titulo, sine nomine iacere, cuius memoria orbem terrarum gloria peruagetur. at ille mandauerat caueratque ut diui- 4
num illud et immortale factum uersibus inscriberetur:

hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam
imperium adseruit non sibi sed patriae.

tam rara in amicitiis fides, tam parata obliuio mortu- 5
orum ut ipsi nobis debeamus etiam conditoria exstruere omniaque heredum officia praesumere. nam 6
cui non est uerendum quod uidemus accidisse Verginio? cuius iniuriam ut indigniorem sic etiam notiorem ipsius claritas facit. uale.

45. (VI. 16.)

C. PLINIVS TACITO SVO S.

Petis ut tibi auunculi mei exitum scribam, quo 1
uerius tradere posteris possis gratias ago: nam uideo morti eius, si celebretur a te, immortalem gloriam esse propositam. quamuis enim pulcherri- 2
marum clade terrarum, ut populi, ut urbes, memorabili casu quasi semper uicturus occiderit, quamuis ipse plurima opera et mansura condiderit, multum tamen perpetuitati eius scriptorum tuorum aeternitas addet. equidem beatos puto quibus deorum munere 3
datum est aut facere scribenda aut scribere legenda, beatissimos uero quibus utrumque. horum in numero

2 sine titulo **Ma**, *om.* **ou**
45 20 urbis *Casaubon*

auunculus meus et suis libris et tuis erit. quo libentius suscipio, deposco etiam quod iniungis.

4 Erat Miseni classemque imperio praesens regebat. nonum Kal. Septembres, hora fere septima, mater mea indicat ei apparere nubem inusitata et magnitudine et 5 specie. usus ille sole, mox frigida, gustauerat iacens studebatque. poscit soleas, ascendit locum ex quo maxime miraculum illud conspici poterat. nubes, incertum procul intuentibus ex quo monte (Vesuuium fuisse postea cognitum est), oriebatur, cuius similitudinem et formam non alia magis arbor quam pinus 6 expresserit. nam longissimo uelut trunco elata in altum quibusdam ramis diffundebatur, credo, quia recenti spiritu euecta, dein senescente eo destituta, aut etiam pondere suo uicta, in latitudinem uanescebat, candida interdum, interdum sordida et maculosa, prout terram cineremue sustulerat.

7 Magnum propiusque noscendum, ut eruditissimo uiro, uisum. iubet Liburnicam aptari: mihi, si uenire una uellem, facit copiam: respondi studere me malle, 8 et forte ipse quod scriberem dederat. egrediebatur domo: accipit codicillos Rectinae Tasci imminenti periculo exterritae (nam uilla eius subiacebat, nec ulla

4 nonum ... septima **M** nonum Kll. (Kl. **u**) hora fere **septima ou** nono Kal. sept. hora dici fere septima **a** Nouember Calend' hora fere septima **r** Kl. nouembris hora fere **septima** *F* 5 inusitata (-e **u**) **oua** inuisitatam **M** 14 dein **Mo** deinde **ua** 15 latitudinem **Ma** altitudinem **ou** 22 Rectinae **Nasci a** recti netasci **M** reti nēcasci **o** retine casti **u** rectina (*om.* Tasci) *F* Rectinae Bassi (*or* Caesii Bassi; *cf. schol.* **Pera. 6. 1**) *edd.*, **etc.**

nisi nauibus fuga): ut se tanto discrimini eriperet orabat. uertit ille consilium, et quod studioso animo 9
incohauerat obit maximo. deducit quadriremes, ascendit ipse, non Rectinae modo sed multis (erat enim frequens amoenitas orae) laturus auxilium. properat 10
illuc unde alii fugiunt, rectumque cursum, recta gubernacula in periculum tenet, adeo solutus metu ut omnis illius mali motus, omnis figuras, ut deprenderat oculis, dictaret enotaretque.

Iam nauibus cinis incidebat, quo propius accederent, 11
calidior et densior, iam pumices etiam nigrique et ambusti et fracti igne lapides. iam uadum subitum ruinaque montis litora obstantia. cunctatus paulum an retro flecteret, mox gubernatori ut ita faceret monenti 'fortes' inquit 'fortuna iuuat: Pomponianum pete.' Stabiis erat, diremptus sinu medio; nam 12
sensim circumactis curuatisque litoribus mare infunditur. ibi, quanquam nondum periculo adpropinquante, conspicuo tamen, et cum cresceret, proximo, sarcinas contulerat in naues, certus fugae, si contrarius uentus resedisset. quo tunc auunculus meus secundissimo inuectus complectitur trepidantem, consolatur, hortatur, utque timorem eius sua securitate leniret, deferri in balineum iubet. lotus accubat, cenat aut hilaris aut, quod aeque magnum, similis hilari.

1 discrimine **a** *Catanaeus* 4 rectinae **Moa**, *om. in blank* **u** 8 deprenderat **Mu** deprehenderat **oFa** 10 accederent **a** accenderent **M** accederet **ou** 24 deferri se in balineum **Fa**, *om.* **se** *rell.* cenat aut hilaris **M** cenat atque hilaris **oua** cenatque hilaris *Sichardus* 25 quod aeque magnum **Mou** quod est aeque magnum **a** quod aeque magnum est **F**

13 Interim e Vesuuio monte pluribus in locis latissimae flammae altaque incendia relucebant, quorum fulgor et claritas tenebris noctis excitabatur. ille agrestium trepidatione ignes relictos desertasque uillas per solitudinem ardere in remedium formidinis dictitabat. tum se quieti dedit, et quieuit uerissimo quidem somno. nam meatus animae, qui illi propter amplitudinem corporis grauior et sonantior erat, ab iis qui 14 limini obuersabantur audiebatur. sed area ex qua diaeta adibatur ita iam cinere mixtisque pumicibus oppleta surrexerat ut, si longior in cubiculo mora, exitus negaretur. excitatus procedit seque Pompo- 15 niano ceterisque qui peruigilauerant reddit. in commune consultant, intra tecta subsistant an in aperto uagentur. nam crebris uastisque tremoribus tecta nutabant, et quasi emota sedibus suis nunc huc nunc 16 illuc abire aut referri uidebantur. sub dio rursus quanquam leuium exesorumque pumicum casus metuebatur; quod tamen periculorum collatio elegit. et apud illum quidem ratio rationem, apud alios timorem timor uicit. ceruicalia capitibus imposita linteis constringunt: id munimentum aduersus incidentia fuit.

17 Iam dies alibi, illic nox omnibus noctibus nigrior densiorque; quam tamen faces multae uariaque lumina solabantur. placuit egredi in litus et ex pro-

1 pluribus in locis **M** pluribus locis **oua** 2 altaque **M** atque **oua** 6 quidem **MoF** equidem **ua** 11 mora esset exitus **a** *Catanaeus* 13 peruigilauerant **M** peruigilarent **oua** 17 subdior usus **ou** sub diuo rursus **a** sub die rursus **M** 19 periculorum **Ma** malorum **ou** elegit **oua** eligit **M** 25 solabantur *Cortius and cod. Laurent.* 47. 34 (*so Keil*) solebantur **M** solebant **ou** soluebant **Fa**

ximo adspicere ecquid iam mare admitteret; quod adhuc uastum et aduersum permanebat. ibi super 18
abiectum linteum recubans semel atque iterum frigidam poposcit hausitque. deinde flammae flammarumque praenuntius odor sulpuris alios in fugam uertunt, excitant illum. innitens seruulis duobus 19
adsurrexit, et statim concidit, ut ego colligo, crassiore caligine spiritu obstructo clausoque stomacho, qui illi natura inualidus et angustus et frequenter aestuans erat. ubi dies redditus (is ab eo quem nouissime 20
uiderat tertius), corpus inuentum integrum, illaesum opertumque ut fuerat indutus: habitus corporis quiescenti quam defuncto similior.

Interim Miseni ego et mater—sed nihil ad historiam, 21
nec tu aliud quam de exitu eius scire uoluisti. finem ergo faciam. unum adiciam, omnia me quibus inter- 22
fueram, quaeque statim, cum maxime uera memorantur, audieram, persecutum. tu potissima excerpes: aliud est enim epistulam aliud historiam, aliud amico aliud omnibus scribere. uale.

46. (VI. 20.)

C. PLINIVS TACITO SVO S.

Ais te, adductum litteris quas exigenti tibi de 1
morte auunculi mei scripsi, cupere cognoscere quos ego Miseni relictus (id enim ingressus abruperam)

3 frigidam **Fa** (*cf. III. 5. 11*) frigidam aquam **Mou** 6 innitens seruolis **M** innixus seruis **oua** 7 colligo **M** coniecto **oua** 9 frequenter aestuans **M** frequenter interaestuans **oua** frequenter intus aestuans **F** 11 uiderat erat tertius *Mommsen*

non solum metus uerum etiam casus pertulerim. 'quanquam animus meminisse horret, incipiam.'

2 Profecto auunculo ipse reliquum tempus studiis (ideo enim remanseram) impendi: mox balineum, 3 cena, somnus inquietus et breuis. praecesserat per multos dies tremor terrae minus formidolosus quia Campaniae solitus. illa uero nocte ita inualuit ut 4 non moueri omnia sed uerti crederentur. irrumpit cubiculum meum mater: surgebam, in uicem, si quiesceret, excitaturus. residimus in area domus, 5 quae mare a tectis modico spatio diuidebat. dubito constantiam uocare an imprudentiam debeam (agebam enim duodeuicensimum annum); posco librum Titi Liui, et quasi per otium lego atque etiam, ut coeperam, excerpo. ecce, amicus auunculi, qui nuper ad eum ex Hispania uenerat, ut me et matrem sedentes, me uero etiam legentem uidet, illius patientiam, securitatem meam corripit: nihilo segnius ego intentus in librum.

6 Iam hora diei prima, et adhuc dubius et quasi languidus dies. iam quassatis circumiacentibus tectis, quanquam in aperto loco, angusto tamen, magnus et 7 certus ruinae metus. tum demum excedere oppido uisum: sequitur uulgus attonitum, quodque in pauore simile prudentiae, alienum consilium suo praefert,

46 6 quia Campaniae solitus, illa (ille **ou**) uero nocte ita inualuit, ut non moueri omnia sed uerti (euerti **a**) crederentur **oua** quia campaniae non solum castella uerum etiam oppida non moueri omnia sed uerti credebantur **M** 8 irrumpit cubiculum **ou**fa inuasit in cubiculum **M** 10 residimus **u** residemus **M** resedimus **oa**

ingentique agmine abeuntis premit et impellit. egressi 8
tecta consistimus. multa ibi miranda, multas
formidines patimur. nam uehicula quae produci
iusseramus, quanquam in planissimo campo, in con-
trarias partes agebantur, ac ne lapidibus quidem fulta
in eodem uestigio quiescebant. praeterea mare in se 9
resorberi et tremore terrae quasi repelli uidebamus.
certe processerat litus, multaque animalia maris siccis
harenis detinebat. ab altero latere nubes atra et
horrenda ignei spiritus tortis uibratisque discursibus
rupta in longas flammarum figuras dehiscebat:
fulguribus illae et similes et maiores erant.

Tum uero idem ille ex Hispania amicus acrius et 10
instantius 'si frater' inquit 'tuus, tuus auunculus
uiuit, uult esse uos saluos; si periit, superstites uoluit:
proinde quid cessatis euadere?' respondimus non
commissuros nos ut de salute illius incerti nostrae
consuleremus. non moratus ultra proripit se, 11
effusoque cursu periculo aufertur. nec multo post
illa nubes descendere in terras, operire maria:
cinxerat Capreas et absconderat: Miseni quod pro-
currit abstulerat. tum mater orare, hortari, iubere 12
quoquo modo fugerem; posse enim iuuenem, se et
annis et corpore grauem bene morituram, si mihi
causa mortis non fuisset. ego contra, saluum me nisi
una non futurum: dein manum eius amplexus, addere
gradum cogo. paret aegre, incusatque se quod me
moretur. iam cinis, adhuc tamen rarus: respicio; 13
densa caligo tergis imminebat, quae nos, torrentis

26 dein Mo deinde ua

modo infusa terrae, sequebatur. 'deflectamus' inquam, 'dum uidemus, ne in uia strati comitantium
14 turba in tenebris obteramur.' uix consideramus, et nox, non qualis illunis aut nubila, sed qualis in locis clausis, lumine exstincto. audires ululatus feminarum, infantium quiritatus, clamores uirorum: alii parentes, alii liberos, alii coniuges uocibus requirebant, uocibus noscitabant: hi suum casum, illi suorum miserabantur:
15 erant qui metu mortis mortem precarentur: multi ad deos manus tollere, plures nusquam iam deos ullos, aeternamque illam et nouissimam noctem mundo interpretabantur. nec defuerunt qui fictis mentitisque terroribus uera pericula augerent. aderant qui Miseni illud ruisse, illud ardere—falso, sed credentibus—
16 nuntiabant. paulum reluxit; quod non dies nobis sed aduentantis ignis indicium uidebatur. et ignis quidem longius substitit, tenebrae rursus, cinis rursus multus et grauis. hunc identidem adsurgentes excutiebamus: operti alioqui atque etiam oblisi
17 pondere essemus. possem gloriari non gemitum mihi, non uocem parum fortem in tantis periculis excidisse, nisi me cum omnibus, omnia mecum perire, misero, magno tamen mortalitatis solacio credidissem.
18 Tandem illa caligo tenuata quasi in fumum nebulamue discessit: mox dies uerus, sol etiam effulsit, luridus tamen, qualis esse, cum deficit, solet. occursabant trepidantibus adhuc oculis mutata omnia

3 obteramur *Fa* ob terram (*end of line*) **u** obruamur **o** operiamur **M** 25 dies uerus **M** dies uere **a** dies ou 27 occurrebant **a**

altoque cinere, tanquam niue, obducta. regressi 19
Misenum, curatis utcumque corporibus suspensam
dubiamque noctem spe ac metu exegimus. metus
praeualebat: nam et tremor terrae perseuerabat et
5 plerique lymphati terrificis uaticinationibus et sua
et aliena mala ludificabantur. nobis tamen ne tunc 20
quidem, quanquam et expertis periculum et exspe-
ctantibus, abeundi consilium, donec de auunculo
nuntius.

10 Haec nequaquam historia digna non scripturus
leges et tibi, scilicet qui requisisti, imputabis, si digna
ne epistula quidem uidebuntur. uale.

3 exegimus **M** exigimus **oua**

LIBER VII.

47. (VII. 4.)

C. PLINIVS PONTIO SVO S.

1 Ais legisse te hendecasyllabos meos; requiris etiam quem ad modum coeperim scribere, homo, ut tibi 2 uideor, seuerus, ut ipse fateor, non ineptus. nunquam a poetice (altius enim repetam) alienus fui; quin etiam quattuordecim natus annos Graecam tragoediam scripsi. 'qualem?' inquis? nescio: tragoedia uoca- 3 batur. mox, cum e militia rediens in Icaria insula uentis detinerer, Latinos elegos in illud ipsum mare ipsamque insulam feci. expertus sum me aliquando et heroo, hendecasyllabis nunc primum, quorum hic natalis, haec causa est. legebantur in Laurentino mihi libri Asini Galli de comparatione patris et Ciceronis. incidit epigramma Ciceronis in Tironem 4 suum. dein, cum meridie (erat enim aestas) dormiturus me recepissem, nec obreperet somnus, coepi reputare maximos oratores hoc studii genus et in 5 oblectationibus habuisse et in laude posuisse. intendi animum, contraque opinionem meam post longam desuetudinem perquam exiguo temporis momento id ipsum quod me ad scribendum sollicitauerat his uersibus exaraui:

47 7 quin **MFa** qui **ou** 13 et heroo (*corr. from* hero) **M** hetero **ou** et heroico **a**

cum libros Galli legerem, quibus ille parenti
ausus de Cicerone dare est palmamque decusque,
lasciuum inueni lusum Ciceronis et illo
spectandum ingenio quo seria condidit et quo
humanis salibus multo uarioque lepore
magnorum ostendit mentes gaudere uirorum.
nam queritur quod fraude mala frustratus amantem
paucula cenato sibi debita sauia Tiro
tempore nocturno subtraxerit. his ego lectis,
'cur post haec' inquam 'nostros celamus amores,
nullumque in medium timidi damus, atque fatemur
Tironisque dolos, Tironis nosse fugaces
blanditias et furta nouas addentia flammas?'

transii ad elegos; hos quoque non minus celeriter explicui: addidi alios, facilitate corruptus. deinde in urbem reuersus, sodalibus legi.. probauerunt. inde plura metra, si quid otii, maxime in itinere temptaui. postremo placuit exemplo multorum unum separatim hendecasyllaborum uolumen absoluere, nec paenitet. legitur, describitur, cantatur etiam, et a Graecis quoque, quos Latine huius libelli amor docuit, nunc cithara nunc lyra personatur.

Sed quid ego tam gloriose? quanquam poetis furere concessum est: et tamen non de meo sed de aliorum iudicio loquor, qui, siue iudicant siue errant, me delectant. unum precor, ut posteri quoque aut errent similiter aut iudicent. uale.

2 ausus de Cicerone dare est *Casaubon* ausus de cicerone daret ou ausus de Cicerone dare a rursus de cicerone daret **M** 15 alios **MFa** altos ou iambos *Mommsen*

48. (VII. 5.)

C. PLINIVS CALPVRNIAE SVAE S.

1 Incredibile est quanto desiderio tui tenear. in causa amor primum, deinde quod non consueuimus abesse. inde est quod magnam noctium partem in imagine tua uigil exigo, inde quod interdiu quibus horis te uisere solebam ad diaetam tuam ipsi me, ut uerissime dicitur, pedes ducunt, quod denique aeger et maestus ac similis excluso a uacuo limine recedo. unum tempus his tormentis caret, quo in foro ami-
2 corum litibus conteror. aestima tu quae uita mea sit, cui requies in labore, in miseria curisque solacium. uale.

49. (VII. 9.)

C. PLINIVS FVSCO SVO S.

1 Quaeris quem ad modum in secessu, quo iam diu
2 frueris, putem te studere oportere. utile in primis, et multi praecipiunt, uel ex Graeco in Latinum uel ex Latino uertere in Graecum: quo genere exercitationis proprietas splendorque uerborum, copia figurarum, uis explicandi, praeterea imitatione optimorum similia inueniendi facultas paratur; simul quae legentem fefellissent transferentem fugere non possunt. intellegentia ex hoc et iudicium adquiritur.

48 5 partem noctium **a** 6 uigil **Ma** uigilem **ou** 10 foro amicorum **M** foro et amicorum **oua** 12 solacium est **a**, *om.* est **Mou**

49 17 frueris **MFa** fueris **ou**

Nihil offuerit quae legeris hactenus ut rem argu- 3
mentumque teneas quasi aemulum scribere lectisque
conferre, ac sedulo pensitare quid tu, quid ille com-
modius. magna gratulatio, si non nulla tu, magnus
pudor, si cuncta ille melius.

Licebit interdum et notissima eligere et certare
cum electis. audax haec, non tamen improba, quia 4
secreta contentio: quanquam multos uidemus eius
modi certamina sibi cum multa laude sumpsisse, quos-
que subsequi satis habebant, dum non desperant,
antecessisse.

Poteris et quae dixeris post obliuionem retractare, 5
multa retinere, plura transire, alia interscribere, alia
rescribere. laboriosum istud et taedio plenum sed 6
difficultate ipsa fructuosum, recalescere ex integro et
resumere impetum fractum omissumque, postremo
noua uelut membra peracto corpori intexere nec
tamen priora turbare.

Scio nunc tibi esse praecipuum studium orandi; 7
sed non ideo semper pugnacem hunc et quasi bella-
torium stilum suaserim. ut enim terrae uariis muta-
tisque seminibus, ita ingenia nostra nunc hac nunc
illa meditatione recoluntur. uolo interdum aliquem 8
ex historia locum apprehendas, uolo epistulam dili-
gentius scribas. nam saepe in orationes quoque non
historica modo sed prope poetica descriptionum
necessitas incidit, et pressus sermo purusque ex
epistulis petitur. fas est et carmine remitti, non 9
dico continuo et longo (id enim perfici nisi in otio

23 illa MFu illac oa

non potest), sed hoc arguto et breui, quod apte
10 quantas libet occupationes curasque distinguit. lusus uocantur; sed hi lusus non minorem interdum gloriam quam seria consequuntur; atque adeo (cur enim te ad uersus non uersibus adhorter?)

11 ut laus est cerae, mollis cedensque sequatur
si doctos digitos iussaque fiat opus,
et nunc informet Martem castamue Mineruam,
nunc Venerem effingat, nunc Veneris puerum,
utque sacri fontes non sola incendia sistunt,
saepe etiam flores uernaque prata iuuant,
sic hominum ingenium flecti ducique per artes
non rigidas docta mobilitate decet.

12 itaque summi oratores, summi etiam uiri sic se aut exercebant aut delectabant, immo delectabant exer-
13 cebantque. nam mirum est ut his opusculis animus intendatur, remittatur. recipiunt enim amores, odia, iras, misericordiam, urbanitatem, omnia denique quae
14 in uita atque etiam in foro causisque uersantur. inest his quoque eadem quae aliis carminibus utilitas, quod, metri necessitate deuincti, soluta oratione laetamur, et quod facilius esse comparatio ostendit, libentius scribimus.

15 Habes plura etiam fortasse quam requirebas, unum tamen omisi; non enim dixi quae legenda arbitrarer: quanquam dixi, cum dicerem quae scribenda. tu memineris sui cuiusque generis auctores diligenter eligere. aiunt enim multum legendum esse, non

11 iuuant (*but dot under first* u **M**) **MF** lauant **oa** luent **u** leuant (*corr. fr.* lauant) *cod. Dresd.* 21 deuincti **oa** deuinctis **M** deiuncti **u** defuncti *Barth and Gesner* 26 tummemineris **M**

multa. qui sint hi, adeo notum probatumque est ut demonstratione non egeat; et alioqui tam immodice epistulam extendi ut, dum tibi quem ad modum studere debeas suadeo, studendi tempus abstulerim. quin ergo pugillares resumis, et aliquid ex his, uel istud ipsum quod coeperas, scribis? uale. 16

50. (VII. 19.)

C. PLINIVS PRISCO SVO S.

Angit me Fanniae ualetudo. contraxit hanc, dum adsidet Iuniae Virgini, sponte primum (est enim adfinis), deinde etiam ex auctoritate pontificum. nam Virgines, cum ui morbi atrio Vestae coguntur excedere, matronarum curae custodiaeque mandantur. quo munere Fannia dum sedulo fungitur, hoc discrimine implicita est. insident febres, tussis increscit, summa macies, summa defectio: animus tantum et spiritus uiget. Heluidio marito, Thrasea patre dignissimus; reliqua labuntur, meque non metu tantum uerum etiam dolore conficiunt. doleo enim feminam maximam eripi oculis ciuitatis, nescio an aliquid simile uisuris. 1 2 3 4

Quae castitas illi! quae sanctitas! quanta grauitas! quanta constantia! bis maritum secuta in exsilium est, tertio ipsa propter maritum relegata. nam cum Senecio reus esset, quod de uita Heluidi libros com- 5

1 probatumque **M** prouocatumque **oua** peruulgatumque *Schaefer* peruagatumque *Otto*

60 18 non metu tantum **oua** non tantum cura **M** 21 uisuris **Ma** uisurus **ou**

posuisset, rogatumque se a Fannia in defensione dixisset, quaerente minaciter Mettio Caro an rogasset, respondit 'rogaui,' an commentarios scripturo dedisset, 'dedi,' an sciente matre, 'nesciente'; postremo nullam
6 uocem cedentem periculo emisit. quin etiam illos ipsos libros, quanquam ex necessitate et metu temporum abolitos senatus consulto, publicatis bonis seruauit, habuit, tulitque in exsilium exsilii causam.
7 Eadem quam iucunda, quam comis, quam denique, quod paucis datum est, non minus amabilis quam ueneranda! eritne quam postea uxoribus nostris ostentare possimus? erit a qua uiri quoque fortitudinis exempla sumamus? quam sic cernentes
8 audientesque miremur ut illas quae leguntur? ac mihi domus ipsa nutare conuulsaque sedibus suis ruitura supra uidetur, licet adhuc posteros habeat: quantis enim uirtutibus quantisque factis adsequentur ut haec non nouissima occiderit?
9 Me quidem illud etiam adfligit et torquet, quod matrem eius, illam (nihil possum illustrius dicere) tantae feminae matrem, rursus uideor amittere, quam haec, ut reddit ac refert nobis, sic auferet secum, meque et nouo pariter et rescisso uulnere adficiet.
10 utramque colui, utramque dilexi; utram magis nescio, nec discerni uolebant. habuerunt officia mea in secundis, habuerunt in aduersis. ego solacium relegatarum, ego ultor reuersarum; non feci tamen paria, atque eo magis hanc cupio seruari, ut mihi

11 erit, nequam **a** erit quam **M** erat: ne (*corr. 2 h.* to ni u) quam **ou** erat, nec quam *F* erit sane quam *Sichardus* 26 solatium **oua** socius **M**

soluendi tempora supersint. in his eram curis, cum 11
scriberem ad te; quas si deus aliquis in gaudium
uerterit, de metu non querar. uale.

51. (VII. 20.)

C. PLINIVS TACITO SVO S.

Librum tuum legi et quam diligentissime potui 1
adnotaui quae commutanda, quae eximenda arbitrarer.
nam et ego uerum dicere adsueui et tu libenter audire.
neque enim ulli patientius reprehenduntur quam qui
maxime laudari merentur.

Nunc a te librum meum cum adnotationibus tuis 2
exspecto. o iucundas, o pulchras uices! quam me
delectat quod, si qua posteris cura nostri, usquequaque
narrabitur qua concordia, simplicitate, fide uixerimus!
erit rarum et insigne duos homines aetate, dignitate 3
propemodum aequales, non nullius in litteris nominis
(cogor enim de te quoque parcius dicere, quia de me
simul dico), alterum alterius studia fouisse. equidem 4
adulescentulus, cum iam tu fama gloriaque floreres,
te sequi, tibi 'longo sed proximus interuallo' et esse
et haberi concupiscebam. et erant multa clarissima
ingenia; sed tu mihi (ita similitudo naturae ferebat)
maxime imitabilis, maxime imitandus uidebaris. quo 5
magis gaudeo quod, si quis de studiis sermo, una
nominamur, quod de te loquentibus statim occurro.
nec desunt qui utrique nostrum praeferantur. sed 6
nos, nihil interest mea quo loco, iungimur; nam mihi

51 27 nam mihi primus qui a te **a** nam mihi primus (*om.* qui a te) **M** nam in hoc primus quia te **ou**

primus qui a te proximus. quin etiam in testamentis debes adnotasse, nisi quis forte alterutri nostrum amicissimus, eadem legata et quidem pariter accipimus.
7 quae omnia huc spectant, ut in uicem ardentius diligamus, cum tot uinculis nos studia, mores, fama, suprema denique hominum iudicia constringant. uale.

52. (VII. 24.)

C. PLINIVS GEMINO SVO S.

1 Vmmidia Quadratilla paulo minus octogensimo aetatis anno decessit, usque ad nouissimam ualetudinem uiridis, atque etiam ultra matronalem modum
2 compacto corpore et robusto. decessit honestissimo testamento: reliquit heredes, ex besse nepotem, ex tertia parte neptem.

Neptem parum noui, nepotem familiarissime diligo, adulescentem singularem, nec iis tantum quos
3 sanguine attingit inter propinquos amandum. ac primum conspicuus forma omnes sermones malignorum et puer et iuuenis euasit: intra quartum et uicesimum annum maritus, et si deus adnuisset, pater.

Vixit in contubernio auiae delicatae seuerissime et
4 tamen obsequentissime. habebat illa pantomimos, fouebatque effusius quam principi feminae conuenit. hos Quadratus non in theatro, non domi spectabat; nec
5 illa exigebat. audiui ipsam, cum mihi commendaret nepotis sui studia, solere se, ut feminam in illo otio

52 17 iis oua his M 24 conuenit M conueniret oua

sexus, laxare animum lusu calculorum, solere spectare pantomimos suos; sed cum factura esset alterutrum, semper se nepoti suo praecepisse, abiret studeretque; quod mihi non amore eius magis facere quam reuerentia uidebatur.

Miraberis, et ego miratus sum: proximis sacer- 6
dotalibus ludis productis in commissione pantomimis, cum simul theatro ego et Quadratus egrederemur, ait mihi 'scis me hodie primum uidisse saltantem auiae meae libertum?' hoc nepos. at hercule alienissimi 7
homines in honorem Quadratillae (pudet me dixisse honorem) per adulationis officium in theatrum cursitabant, exsultabant, plaudebant, mirabantur, ac deinde singulos gestus dominae cum canticis reddebant; qui nunc exiguissima legata, theatralis operae corollarium, accipient ab herede, qui non spectabat.

Haec, quia soles, si quid incidit noui, non inuitus 8
audire; deinde, quia iucundum est mihi quod ceperam gaudium scribendo retractare. gaudeo enim pietate defunctae, honore optimi iuuenis; lactor etiam quod domus aliquando C. Cassi, huius qui Cassianae scholae princeps et parens fuit, seruiet domino non minori. implebit enim illam Quadratus meus et decebit, 9
rursusque ei pristinam dignitatem, celebritatem, gloriam reddet, cum tantus orator inde procedet, quantus iuris ille consultus. uale.

18 haec quia **Mou** haec scripsi quia **a** hec scripsi primum quia *F* 19 ceperam **Ma** ceperim **ou**

53. (VII. 26.)

C. PLINIVS MAXIMO SVO S.

1 Nuper me cuiusdam amici languor admonuit optimos esse nos, dum infirmi sumus. quem enim infir-
2 mum aut auaritia aut libido sollicitat? non amoribus seruit, non adpetit honores, opes neglegit, et quantulumcunque ut relicturus satis habet. tunc deos, tunc hominem esse se meminit, inuidet nemini, neminem miratur, neminem despicit, ac ne sermonibus quidem malignis aut attendit aut alitur: balinea imaginatur
3 et fontes. haec summa curarum, summa uotorum, mollemque in posterum et pinguem, si contingat euadere, hoc est, innoxiam beatamque destinat uitam.
4 possum ergo quod plurimis uerbis, plurimis etiam uoluminibus philosophi docere conantur ipse breuiter tibi mihique praecipere, ut tales esse sani perseueremus quales nos futuros profitemur infirmi. uale.

54. (VII. 27.)

C. PLINIVS SVRAE SVO S.

1 Et mihi discendi et tibi docendi facultatem otium praebet. igitur perquam uelim scire, esse phantasmata et habere propriam figuram numenque aliquod putes, an inania et uana ex metu nostro imaginem accipere.
2 Ego ut esse credam in primis eo ducor quod audio accidisse Curtio Rufo. tenuis adhuc et obscurus

53 5 aut auaritia aut ambitio aut libido *Gierig*

obtinenti Africam comes haeserat: inclinato die spatiabatur in porticu: offertur ei mulieris figura humana grandior pulchriorque: perterrito Africam se, futurorum praenuntiam, dixit; iturum enim Romam, honoresque gesturum, atque etiam cum summo imperio in eandem prouinciam reuersurum, ibique moriturum. facta sunt omnia. praeterea accedenti 3 Carthaginem egredientique naue eadem figura in litore occurrisse narratur. ipse certe implicitus morbo, futura praeteritis, aduersa secundis auguratus, spem salutis nullo suorum desperante proiecit.

Iam illud nonne et magis terribile et non minus 4 mirum est, quod exponam ut accepi? erat Athenis 5 spatiosa et capax domus, sed infamis et pestilens. per silentium noctis sonus ferri, et si attenderes acrius, strepitus uinculorum longius primo, deinde e proximo reddebatur: mox apparebat idolon, senex macie et squalore confectus, promissa barba, horrenti capillo: cruribus compedes, manibus catenas gerebat quatiebatque. inde inhabitantibus tristes diraeque noctes 6 per metum uigilabantur: uigiliam morbus et crescente formidine mors sequebatur. nam interdiu quoque, quamquam abscesserat imago, memoria imaginis oculis inerrabat, longiorque causis timoris timor erat. deserta inde et damnata solitudine domus, totaque illi monstro relicta; proscribebatur tamen, seu quis emere, seu quis conducere ignarus tanti mali uellet.

54 1 quaestori obtinenti Africam *Mommsen* 24 inerrabat **Mou** inhaerebat **a** longiorque causis timoris timor erat **ou** longiorque causis timor erat **M** longiorisque caussa timoris timor erat **a** 25 solitudini *Heinsius*

7 Venit Athenas philosophus Athenodorus, legit titulum, auditoque pretio, quia suspecta uilitas, percunctatus, omnia docetur ac nihilo minus, immo tanto magis conducit. ubi coepit aduesperascere, iubet sterni sibi in prima domus parte, poscit pugillares, stilum, lumen: suos omnes in interiora dimittit, ipse ad scribendum animum, oculos, manum intendit, ne uacua mens audita simulacra et inanes sibi metus 8 fingeret. initio, quale ubique, silentium noctis; dein concuti ferrum, uincula moueri: ille non tollere oculos, non remittere stilum, sed offirmare animum auribusque praetendere: tum crebrescere fragor, aduentare, ac iam ut in limine, iam ut intra limen audiri: respi- 9 cit; uidet agnoscitque narratam sibi effigiem. stabat innuebatque digito, similis uocanti: hic contra ut paulum exspectaret manu significat, rursusque ceris et stilo incumbit: illa scribentis capiti catenis insonabat: respicit rursus idem quod prius innuentem, nec mora- 10 tus tollit lumen et sequitur. ibat illa lento gradu, quasi grauis uinculis: postquam deflexit in aream domus, repente dilapsa deserit comitem: desertus 11 herbas et folia concerpta signum loco ponit. postero die adit magistratus, monet ut illum locum effodi iubeant. inueniuntur ossa inserta catenis et implicita, quae corpus aeuo terraque putrefactum nuda et exesa reliquerat uinculis: collecta publice

5 sibi in prima **ou** sibi prima **M** 9 dein **Mo** deinde **ua** 13 ac iam (*I have written from the doublet of* **a**, *this arising from* aciam, *read as* atiam, *and* etiam *interlined above*) etiam, ac iam ut in limine **a** etiam ut in limine **M** etiam ut limine **ou** etiam in limine *F*

sepeliuntur. domus postea rite conditis manibus caruit.

Et haec quidem adfirmantibus credo; illud adfir- 12
mare aliis possum. est libertus mihi, non illitteratus. cum hoc minor frater eodem lecto quiescebat. is uisus est sibi cernere quendam in toro residentem admouentemque capiti suo cultros atque etiam ex ipso uertice amputantem capillos. ubi illuxit, ipse circa uerticem tonsus, capilli iacentes reperiuntur. exiguum temporis medium, et rursus simile aliud 13
priori fidem fecit. puer in paedagogio mixtus pluribus dormiebat: uenerunt per fenestras (ita narrat) in tunicis albis duo cubantemque detonderunt, et qua uenerant recesserunt. hunc quoque tonsum sparsosque circa capillos dies ostendit. nihil notabile secutum, 14
nisi forte quod non fui reus, futurus, si Domitianus, sub quo haec acciderunt, diutius uixisset. nam in scrinio eius datus a Caro de me libellus inuentus est; ex quo coniectari potest, quia reis moris est summittere capillum, recisos meorum capillos depulsi quod imminebat periculi signum fuisse.

Proinde rogo eruditionem tuam intendas. digna 15
res est quam diu multumque consideres: ne ego quidem indignus cui copiam scientiae tuae facias. licet etiam utramque in partem, ut soles, disputes, ex 16
altera tamen fortius, ne me suspensum incertumque dimittas, cum mihi consulendi causa fuerit ut dubitare desinerem. uale.

55. (VII. 28.)

C. PLINIVS SEPTICIO SVO S.

1 Ais quosdam apud te reprehendisse, tanquam amicos meos ex omni occasione ultra modum laudem. 2 agnosco crimen, amplector etiam. quid enim honestius culpa benignitatis? qui sunt tamen isti qui amicos meos melius norint? sed ut norint, quid inuident mihi felicissimo errore? ut enim non sint tales quales a me praedicantur, ego tamen beatus, 3 quod mihi uidentur. igitur ad alios hanc sinistram diligentiam conferant, nec sunt parum multi, qui carpere amicos suos iudicium uocant: mihi nunquam persuadebunt ut meos amari a me nimium putem. uale.

55 3 **tamquam M** tamquam si **ou** quod **a** 7 **melius me norint** *Casaubon* me melius norint *Mommsen* 8 **errore Ma** errorem **ou** 9 **quales Ma**, *om.* **ou** ut *F* 13 **nimium putem a nimium autem M** nimis unquam putem **ou**

LIBER VIII.

56. (VIII. 4.)

C. PLINIVS CANINIO SVO S.

Optime facis quod bellum Dacicum scribere paras. 1
nam quae tam recens, tam copiosa, tam lata, quae denique tam poetica, et quanquam in uerissimis rebus tam fabulosa materia? dices immissa terris noua 2
flumina, nouos pontes fluminibus iniectos, insessa castris montium abrupta, pulsum regia, pulsum etiam uita regem nihil desperantem; super haec, actos bis triumphos, quorum alter ex inuicta gente primus, alter nouissimus fuit.

Vna sed maxima difficultas, quod haec aequare 3
dicendo arduum, immensum, etiam tuo ingenio, quam altissime adsurgat et amplissimis operibus increscat. non nullus et in illo labor, ut barbara et fera nomina, in primis regis ipsius, Graecis uersibus non resultent. sed nihil est quod non arte curaque, si 4
non potest uinci, mitigetur. praeterea, si datur

For the eighth book, which is lacking in the entire class of 15th century MSS. to which o *and* u *belong, only* M and a *are regularly cited. Where the reading of but one is given in the foot-notes, the reading of the other is that of the text.*

56 5 tam late denique tam **M** 6 in uenerissimus rebus **M** 15 amplissime **a** 18 sed *om.* **M**

Homero et mollia uocabula et Graeca ad leuitatem uersus contrahere, extendere, inflectere, cur tibi similis audentia, praesertim non delicata sed necessaria, negetur? proinde iure uatum inuocatis dis, et inter deos ipso cuius res, opera, consilia dicturus es, immitte rudentes, pande uela, ac si quando alias, toto ingenio uehere. cur enim non ego quoque poetice cum poeta? Illud iam nunc paciscor: prima quaeque ut absolueris, mittito, immo etiam ante quam absoluas, sicut erunt recentia et rudia et adhuc similia nascentibus. respondebis non posse perinde carptim ut contexta, perinde incohata placere ut effecta. scio: itaque et a me aestimabuntur ut coepta, spectabuntur ut membra, extremamque limam tuam opperientur in scrinio nostro. patere hoc me super cetera habere amoris tui pignus, ut ea quoque norim quae nosse neminem uelles. in summa, potero fortasse scripta tua magis probare, laudare, quanto illa tardius cautiusque, sed ipsum te magis amabo, magis laudabo, quanto celerius et incautius miseris. uale.

57. (VIII. 8.)

C. PLINIVS ROMANO SVO S.

Vidistine aliquando Clitumnum fontem? si nondum (et puto nondum; alioqui narrasses mihi), uide, quem ego (paenitet tarditatis) proxime uidi.

Modicus collis adsurgit, antiqua cupresso nemorosus

3 non detur M 4 inter deos ipso a *Beroaldus* inter eos ipso M 9 mitte a 19 magisque laudabo M

et opacus. hunc subter fons exit, et exprimitur pluribus uenis sed imparibus, eluctatusque facit gurgitem qui lato gremio patescit purus et uitreus, ut numerare iactas stipes et relucentis calculos possis. inde non loci deuexitate sed ipsa sui copia et quasi 3 pondere impellitur. fons adhuc et iam amplissimum flumen atque etiam nauium patiens, quas obuias quoque et contrario nisu in diuersa tendentes transmittit et perfert, adeo ualidus ut illa qua properat ipse, quanquam per solum planum, remis non adiuuetur, idem acgerrime remis contisque superetur aduersus. iucundum utrumque per iocum ludumque fluitantibus, 4 ut flexerint cursum, laborem otio, otium labore uariare.

Ripae fraxino multa, multa populo uestiuntur, quas perspicuus amnis uelut mersas uiridi imagine adnumerat. rigor aquae certauerit niuibus, nec color cedit. adiacet templum priscum et religiosum: stat Clitu- 5 mnus ipse amictus ornatusque praetexta: praesens numen atque etiam fatidicum indicant sortes. sparsa sunt circa sacella complura totidemque dii. sua cuique ueneratio, suum nomen, quibusdam uero etiam fontes; nam praeter illum quasi parentem ceterorum sunt minores capite discreti; sed flumini miscentur, quod ponte transmittitur. is terminus sacri pro- 6 fanique: in superiore parte nauigare tantum, infra etiam natare concessum. balineum Hispellates, quibus

57 1 exit fons **M** 2 eluctatusque quem facit gurgitem lato gremio patescit **M** 10 quamquam **M** tanquam **a** 16 uelut **a** ut **M** imagine] margini *Markland* 26 tantum infra etiam *om.* **M**

illum locum diuus Augustus dono dedit, publice praebent, praebent et hospitium. nec desunt uillae, quae secutae fluminis amoenitatem margini insistunt.

7 In summa, nihil erit ex quo non capias uoluptatem. nam studebis quoque; leges multa multorum omnibus columnis, omnibus parietibus inscripta, quibus fons ille deusque celebratur. plura laudabis, non nulla ridebis; quanquam tu uero, quae tua humanitas, nulla ridebis. uale.

58. (VIII. 16.)

C. PLINIVS PATERNO SVO S.

1 Confecerunt me infirmitates meorum, mortes etiam, et quidem iuuenum. solacia duo nequaquam paria tanto dolori, solacia tamen: unum facilitas manumittendi; uideor enim non omnino immaturos perdidisse quos iam liberos perdidi: alterum, quod permitto seruis quoque quasi testamenta facere, eaque
2 ut legitima custodio. mandant rogantque quod uisum; pareo ut iussus. diuidunt, donant, relinquunt, dumtaxat intra domum: nam seruis res publica quae-
3 dam et quasi ciuitas domus est. sed quanquam his solaciis adquiescam, debilitor et frangor eadem illa humanitate quae me ut hoc ipsum permitterem induxit.

Non ideo tamen uelim durior fieri. nec ignoro alios eius modi casus nihil amplius uocare quam damnum,

1 publice praebent praebent hospitium **M** publice praebent et hospitium **a** 4 captes **a**

58 16 quod **M** cum **a**

eoque sibi magnos homines et sapientes uideri. qui an magni sapientesque sint nescio, homines non sunt. hominis est enim adfici dolore, sentire, resistere tamen 4 et solacia admittere, non solaciis non egere. uerum de 5 his plura fortasse quam debui, sed pauciora quam uolui. est enim quaedam etiam dolendi uoluptas, praesertim si in amici sinu defleas, apud quem lacrimis tuis uel laus sit parata uel uenia. uale.

59. (VIII. 20.)

C. PLINIVS GALLO SVO S.

Ad quae noscenda iter ingredi, transmittere mare 1 solemus, ea sub oculis posita neglegimus, seu quia ita natura comparatum ut proximorum incuriosi longinqua sectemur, seu quod omnium rerum cupido languescit, cum facilis occasio, seu quod differimus tanquam saepe uisuri quod datur uidere quotiens uelis cernere. quacumque de causa, permulta in urbe 2 nostra iuxtaque urbem non oculis modo sed ne auribus quidem nouimus, quae si tulisset Achaia, Aegyptus, Asia aliave quaelibet miraculorum ferax commendatrixque terra, audita, perlecta, lustrata haberemus.

Ipse certe nuper quod nec audieram ante nec 3 uideram audiui pariter et uidi. exegerat prosocer meus ut Amerina praedia sua inspicerem. haec perambulanti mihi ostenditur subiacens lacus nomine

1 sapienteis uideri qui an magni **a**, *om.* **M**

59 15 occasio est seu **a** 19 Aegyptus aliaque quaelibet **a** 21 lustrataque **a**

Vadimonis: simul quaedam incredibilia narrantur.
4 perueni ad ipsum. lacus est in similitudinem iacentis rotae circumscriptus et undique aequalis: nullus sinus, obliquitas nulla, omnia dimensa, paria, et quasi artificis manu cavata et excisa. color caerulo albidior, uiridior, et pressior; sulpuris odor saporque medicatus, uis qua fracta solidantur. spatium modicum, quod
5 tamen sentiat uentos et fluctibus intumescat. nulla in hoc nauis (sacer enim), sed innatant insulae, herbidae omnes harundine et iunco, quaeque alia fecundior palus ipsaque illa extremitas lacus effert. sua cuique figura ut modus: cunctis margo derasus, quia frequenter uel litori uel sibi illisae terunt terunturque. par omnibus altitudo, par leuitas; quippe in speciem
6 carinae humili radice descendunt. haec ab omni latere perspicitur eademque suspensa pariter et mersa. interdum iunctae copulataeque et continenti similes sunt, interdum discordantibus uentis digeruntur, non nunquam destitutae tranquillitate singulae fluitant.
7 saepe minores maioribus uelut cumbulae onerariis adhaerescunt, saepe inter se maiores minoresque quasi cursum certamenque desumunt; rursus omnes in eundem locum adpulsae, qua steterunt promouent terram, et modo hac modo illa lacum reddunt auferuntque; ac tum demum, cum medium tenuere, non

6 et pressior (*om.* uiridior) sulpure, odor **a** uiridi austerior et pressior, sulpuris odor *or* uiridi pressior, sulpuris odor *Keil* 9 enim est sed **a** 10 iunco tectae, quaeque **a** 12 ut **a** uel **MF** ut motus *Cauuabon, aft. Lectius* 16 eadem aqua pariter suspensa et mersa **a** 17 continentis similes eunt **a** 23 eundem *om.* **M** 24 illac **a** 25 ac tum **r** ac dum **M** auctum **a**

contrahunt. constat pecora herbas secuta sic in 8
insulas illas ut in extremam ripam procedere solere,
nec prius intellegere mobile solum, quam litori abrepta,
quasi illata et imposita, circumfusum undique lacum
paueant; mox quo tulerit uentus egressa, non magis
se descendisse sentire quam senserint ascendisse.
idem lacus in flumen egeritur, quod, ubi se paulisper 9
oculis dedit, specu mergitur alteque conditum meat,
ac si quid, antequam subduceretur, accepit, seruat et
profert.

Haec tibi scripsi, quia nec minus ignota quam mihi 10
nec minus grata credebam. nam te quoque, ut me,
nihil aeque ac naturae opera delectant. uale.

60. (VIII. 24.)

C. PLINIVS MAXIMO SVO S.

Amor in te meus cogit, non ut praecipiam (neque 1
enim praeceptore eges), admoneam tamen, ut quae
scis teneas et obserues, aut scias melius.

Cogita te missum in prouinciam Achaiam, illam 2
ueram et meram Graeciam, in qua primum humanitas,
litterae, etiam fruges inuentae esse creduntur: mis-
sum ad ordinandum statum liberarum ciuitatum, id
est, ad homines maxime homines, ad liberos maxime

1 trahuntur **M** 3 litore **a** 4 quasi in rate posita *Mommsen* 6 sentire quam senserint ascendisse *om.* **M**

60 18 scias **a** *Catanaeus* nescire **M** 20 in qua primum **M** ubi **a** 22 statum liberarum ciuitatium, id est ad homines maxime liberos, qui ius **a** statum id est ad homines maxime homines ad liberos maxime liberos quod ius **M**

liberos, qui ius a natura datum uirtute, meritis, amicitia, foedere denique et religione tenuerunt.
3 reuerere conditores deos et numina deorum, reuerere gloriam ueterem et hanc ipsam senectutem, quae in homine uenerabilis, in urbibus sacra. sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus factis, sit fabulis quoque. nihil ex cuiusquam dignitate, nihil ex
4 libertate, nihil etiam ex iactatione decerpseris. habe ante oculos hanc esse terram quae nobis miserit iura, quae leges non uictis sed petentibus dederit, Athenas esse quas adeas, Lacedaemonem esse quam regas; quibus reliquam umbram et residuum libertatis nomen
5 eripere durum, ferum, barbarum est. uides a medicis, quanquam in aduersa ualetudine nihil serui ac liberi differant, mollius tamen liberos clementiusque tractari. recordare quid quaeque ciuitas fuerit, non ut despicias
6 quod esse desierit: absit superbia, asperitas. nec timueris contemptum. an contemnitur qui imperium, qui fasces habet, nisi humilis et sordidus et qui se primus ipse contemnit? male uim suam potestas aliorum contumeliis experitur, male terrore ueneratio adquiritur, longeque ualentior amor ad obtinendum quod uelis quam timor. nam timor abit, si recedas; manet amor, ac sicut ille in odium, hic in reuerentiam uertitur.

7 Te uero etiam atque etiam (repetam enim) meminisse oportet officii tui titulum ac tibi ipsum interpre-

3 et nomina M numina (*om.* et) a nomina heroum *Gronouius* 5 sacra est · sit a 7 nihil ex cuiusquam iactatione a 10 uicta a non uicta acceperit sed petentibus dederit *Sichardus* 13 barbarumque est *F*a 19 nisi qui humilis a

tari quale quantumque sit ordinare statum liberarum ciuitatum. nam quid ordinatione ciuilius? quid 8 libertate pretiosius? porro quam turpe, si ordinatio euersione, libertas seruitute mutetur!

Accedit quod tibi certamen est tecum: onerat te quaesturae tuae fama, quam ex Bithynia optimam reuexisti, onerat testimonium principis, onerat tribunatus, praetura, atque haec ipsa legatio quasi praemium data. quo magis nitendum est, ne in longinqua 9 prouincia quam suburbana, ne inter seruientes quam liberos, ne sorte quam iudicio missus, ne rudis et incognitus quam exploratus probatusque, humanior, melior, peritior fuisse uidearis; cum sit alioqui, ut saepe audisti, saepe legisti, multo deformius amittere quam non adsequi laudem.

Haec uelim credas, quod initio dixi, scripsisse me 10 admonentem, non praecipientem; quanquam praecipientem quoque. quippe non uereor in amore ne modum excesserim. neque enim periculum est ne sit nimium quod esse maximum debet. uale.

11 sorte a forte M

LIBER IX.

61. (IX. 6.)

C. PLINIVS CALVISIO SVO S.

1 Omne hoc tempus inter pugillares ac libellos iucundissima quiete transmisi. 'quem ad modum' inquis 'in urbe potuisti?' Circenses erant, quo genere spectaculi ne leuissime quidem teneor. nihil nouum, nihil uarium, nihil quod non semel spectasse sufficiat. 2 quo magis miror tot milia uirorum tam pueriliter identidem cupere currentes equos, insistentes curribus homines uidere. si tamen aut uelocitate equorum aut hominum arte traherentur, esset ratio non nulla: nunc fauent panno, pannum amant, et si in ipso cursu medioque certamine hic color illuc, ille huc transferatur, studium fauorque transibit, et repente agitatores illos, equos illos, quos procul noscitant, quorum 3 clamitant nomina, relinquent. tanta gratia, tanta auctoritas in una uilissima tunica, mitto apud uulgus, quod uilius tunica, sed apud quosdam graues homines; quos ego cum recordor in re inani, frigida, assidua tam insatiabiliter desidere, capio aliquam uoluptatem, 4 quod hac uoluptate non capior. ac per hos dies libentissime otium meum in litteris colloco, quos alii otiosissimis occupationibus perdunt. uale.

61 10 cupere *om.* ua, *add.* Mo

62. (IX. 10.)

C. PLINIVS TACITO SVO S.

Cupio praeceptis tuis parere; sed aprorum tanta 1
penuria est ut Mineruae et Dianae, quas ais pariter
colendas, conuenire non possit. itaque Mineruae 2
tantum seruiendum est, delicate tamen, ut in secessu
et aestate. in uia plane non nulla leuiora statimque
delenda ea garrulitate qua sermones in uehiculo se-
runtur extendi. his quaedam addidi in uilla, cum
aliud non liberet. itaque poemata quiescunt, quae tu
inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas.
oratiunculam unam alteram retractaui; quanquam id 3
genus operis inamabile, inamoenum, magisque labori-
bus ruris quam uoluptatibus simile. uale.

63. (IX. 11.)

C. PLINIVS GEMINO SVO S

Epistulam tuam iucundissimam accepi, eo maxime, 1
quod aliquid ad te scribi uolebas quod libris inseri
posset. obueniet materia, uel haec ipsa quam mon-
stras, uel potior alia. sunt enim in hac offendicula
non nulla: circumfer oculos, et occurrent.

Bibliopolas Lugduni esse non putabam, ac tanto 2
libentius ex litteris tuis cognoui uenditari libellos
meos, quibus peregre manere gratiam quam in urbe

62 10 quiescent **M** accrescent *Mommsen*
63 17 accepi **M** recepi **ou***Fa* 23 uenditari ibi libellos *Mommsen*

collegerint delector. incipio enim satis absolutum existimare, de quo tanta diuersitate regionum discreta hominum iudicia consentiunt. uale.

64. (IX. 13.)

C. PLINIVS QVADRATO SVO S.

1 Quanto studiosius intentiusque legisti libros quos de Heluidi ultione composui, tanto impensius postulas ut perscribam tibi quaeque extra libros quaeque circa libros, totum denique ordinem rei, cui per aetatem non interfuisti.

2 Occiso Domitiano statui mecum ac deliberaui esse magnam pulchramque materiam insectandi nocentes, miseros uindicandi, se proferendi. porro inter multa scelera multorum nullum atrocius uidebatur quam quod in senatu senator senatori, praetorius consulari, reo iudex manus intulisset. fuerat alioqui mihi cum Heluidio amicitia, quanta potuerat esse cum eo qui
3 metu temporum nomen ingens paresque uirtutes secessu tegebat, fuerat cum Arria et Fannia, quarum altera Heluidi nouerca, altera mater nouercae. sed non ita me iura priuata ut publicum fas et indignitas facti et exempli ratio incitabat.

4 Ac primis quidem diebus redditae libertatis pro se quisque inimicos suos, dumtaxat minores, incondito turbidoque clamore postulauerat simul et oppresserat.

64 8 quaeque extra libros quaeque circa libros totum **oa** quae extra libros totum **Mu** 20 heluidio **ou** 25 postulauerat **ua** postulauerant **M** postulabant **e** oppresserat **oua** oppresserant **M**

ego et modestius et constantius arbitratus immanissimum reum non communi temporum inuidia, sed proprio crimine urguere, cum iam satis ille primus impetus deferuisset et languidior in dies ira ad iustitiam redisset, quanquam tum maxime tristis amissa nuper uxore, mitto ad Anteiam (nupta haec Heluidio fuerat), rogo ut ueniat, quia me recens adhuc luctus limine contineret. ut uenit, 'destinatum est' inquam 'mihi maritum tuum non inultum pati. nuntia Arriae et Fanniae' (ab exsilio redierant): 'consule te, consule illas an uelitis adscribi facto, in quo ego comite non egeo; sed non ita gloriae meae fauerim ut uobis societatem eius inuideam.' perfert Anteia mandata, nec illae morantur.

Opportune senatus intra diem tertium. (omnia ego semper ad Corellium rettuli, quem prouidentissimum aetatis nostrae sapientissimumque cognoui: in hoc tamen contentus consilio meo fui, ueritus ne uetaret; erat enim cunctantior cautiorque. sed non sustinui inducere in animum quo minus illi eodem die facturum me indicarem quod an facerem non deliberabam, expertus usu de eo quod destinaueris non esse consulendos quibus consultis obsequi debeas.) uenio in senatum, ius dicendi peto, dico paulisper maximo adsensu. ubi coepi crimen attingere, reum destinare, adhuc tamen sine nomine, undique mihi reclamari.

3 ille primus oua primus ille **M** 4 deferuisset **oa** deseruisset **u** defremuisset **M** 10 ab exilio redierant *Fa* ab exilio redibant **M** exilio redierant consule te consule illas an ueli- *om.* **ou** 12 ita **Ma** tam **ou** 13 societatem **a** societate **Mou** 15 ego semper **Ma** semper ego **ou**

alius, 'sciamus quis sit de quo extra ordinem referas'; alius, 'quis est ante relationem reus?' alius, 'salui
8 simus, qui supersumus.' audio imperturbatus, interritus: tantum susceptae rei honestas ualet, tantumque ad fiduciam uel metum differt, nolint homines quod facias an non probent.

Longum est omnia quae tunc hinc inde iacta sunt
9 recensere. nouissime consul, 'Secunde, sententiae loco dices, si quid uolueris.' 'permiseras' inquam 'quod usque adhuc omnibus permisisti.' resido:
10 aguntur alia. interim me quidam ex consularibus amicis secreto curatoque sermone, quasi nimis fortiter incauteque progressum, corripit, reuocat, monet ut desistam, adicit etiam notabilem me futuris princi-
11 pibus. 'esto' inquam, 'dum malis.' uix ille discesserat, rursus alter, 'quid audes? quo ruis? quibus te periculis obicis? quid praesentibus confidis, incertus futurorum? lacessis hominem iam praefectum aerarii et breui consulem, praeterea qua gratia, quibus amicitiis fultum!' nominat quendam, qui tunc ad orientem amplissimum et famosissimum exercitum
12 non sine magnis dubiisque rumoribus obtinebat. ad haec ego, '"omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi," nec recuso, si ita casus attulerit, luere poenas ob honestissimum factum, dum flagitiosissimum ulciscor.'

13 Iam censendi tempus. dicit Domitius Apollinaris,

7 iacta ουα facta M 9 permiseris F 12 accuratoque F 20 nomina quae magnis dubiisque (om. all between) M tunc a tam ου 21 et famosissimum a, om. ου 22 rumoribus Ma sermonibus ου 23 praecepi Mου percepi Fa 26 ulciscar F

consul designatus, dicit Fabricius Veiento, Fabius Maximinus, Vettius Proculus, collega Publici Certi de quo agebatur, uxoris meae quam amiseram uitricus, post hos Ammius Flaccus. omnes Certum nondum a me nominatum ut nominatum defendunt, crimenque quasi in medio relictum defensione suscipiunt. quae 14 praeterea dixerint non est necesse narrare: in libris habes; sum enim cuncta ipsorum uerbis persecutus.

Dicunt contra Auidius Quietus, Cornutus Tertullus: 15 Quietus, iniquissimum esse querelas dolentium excludi, ideoque Arriae et Fanniae ius querendi non auferendum, nec interesse cuius ordinis quis sit, sed quam causam habeat: Cornutus, datum se a consulibus 16 tutorem Heluidi filiae petentibus matre eius et uitrico; nunc quoque non sustinere deserere officii sui partes, in quo tamen et suo dolori modum imponere et optimarum feminarum perferre modestissimum adfectum; quas contentas esse admonere senatum Publici Certi cruentae adulationis et petere, si poena flagitii manifestissimi remittatur, nota certe quasi censoria inuratur. tum Satrius Rufus medio ambiguoque sermone 17 'puto' inquit 'iniuriam factam Publicio Certo, si non absoluitur: nominatus est ab amicis Arriae et Fanniae, nominatus ab amicis suis. nec debemus solliciti esse; iidem enim nos, qui bene sentimus de homine, iudicaturi sumus: si innocens est, sicut et spero et

2 maximinus **M** Posthuminus **a** postimius **o** postimus **u** 3 uxoris meae **M** uxoris autem meae **ouFa** 9 Auidius *om.* **M** 10 Quietus *om.* **oua**. *add.* **M** 20 certe **Mu** Certo **oa** 25 iudicaturi **oua** et iudicaturi **M** 26 sicut (sicuti **a**) et spero **oua** sicut spero **M**

malo, et donec aliquid probetur, credo, poteritis absoluere.'

18 Haec illi, quo quisque ordine citabantur. uenitur ad me: consurgo, utor initio quod in libro est, respondeo singulis. mirum qua intentione, quibus clamoribus omnia exceperint qui modo reclamabant: tanta conuersio uel negotii dignitatem, uel prouentum 19 orationis, uel actoris constantiam subsecuta est. finio: incipit respondere Veiento: nemo patitur: obturbatur, obstrepitur, adeo quidem ut diceret 'rogo, patres conscripti, ne me cogatis implorare auxilium tribunorum.' et statim Murena tribunus 'permitto tibi, uir clarissime Veiento, dicere.' Tunc quoque recla- 20 matur. inter moras consul citatis nominibus et peracta discessione mittit senatum, ac paene adhuc stantem temptantemque dicere Veientonem relinquit. multum ille de hac (ita uocabat) contumelia questus est Homerico uersu

ὦ γέρον, ἦ μάλα δή σε νέοι τείρουσι μαχηταί.

21 Non fere quisquam in senatu fuit qui non me complecteretur, exoscularetur, certatimque laude cumularet, quod intermissum iam diu morem in publicum consulendi susceptis propriis simultatibus reduxissem, quod denique senatum inuidia liberassem, qua flagrabat apud ordines alios, quod seuerus in ceteros senatoribus solis dissimulatione quasi mutua parceret.

22 Haec acta sunt absente Certo; fuit enim seu tale aliquid suspicatus, siue, ut excusabatur, infirmus. et

16 relinquit **oa** reliquit **u** reliquid **M** 20 non me **Ma** me non **ou** 22 iam **Ma** tam **ou**

relationem quidem de eo Caesar ad senatum non remisit: obtinui tamen quod intenderam; nam collega 23
Certi consulatum, successorem Certus accepit, planeque factum est quod dixeram in fine, 'reddat praemium sub optimo principe quod a pessimo accepit.'

Postea actionem meam, utcumque potui, recollegi, addidi multa. accidit fortuitum, sed non tanquam 24
fortuitum, quod editis libris Certus intra paucissimos dies implicitus morbo decessit. audiui referentes 25
hanc imaginem menti eius, hanc oculis oberrasse, tanquam uideret me sibi cum ferro imminere. uerane haec adfirmare non ausim; interest tamen exempli ut uera uideantur.

Habes epistulam, si modum epistulae cogites, libris 26
quos legisti non minorem; sed imputabis tibi, qui contentus libris non fuisti. uale.

65. (IX. 19.)

C. PLINIVS RVSONI SVO S.

Significas legisse te in quadam epistula mea iussisse 1
Verginium Rufum inscribi sepulcro suo,

Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam
imperium adseruit non sibi sed patriae.

reprehendis quod iusserit, addis etiam melius rectiusque Frontinum, quod uetuerit omnino monimentum

11 uideret me sibi cum ferro imminere **M** uideret Heluidium respondere mihi **oua**

65 18 Rvsoni **a** (cf. VI. *33. 2, 3*) rusonio **M** Rufloni **o** Rufoni **u** 20 Verginium **o** Verginum **a** uirginium **Muf**

sibi fieri, meque ad extremum quid de utroque sentiam consulis.

2 Utrumque dilexi, miratus sum magis quem tu reprehendis, atque ita miratus, ut non putarem satis unquam laudari posse cuius nunc mihi subeunda defensio
3 est. omnes ego qui magnum aliquid memorandumque fecerunt non modo uenia uerum etiam laude dignissimos iudico, si immortalitatem quam meruere sectantur, uicturique nominis famam supremis etiam titulis prorogare nituntur.

4 Nec facile quenquam nisi Verginium inuenio cuius tanta in praedicando uerecundia, quanta gloria ex
5 facto. ipse sum testis, familiariter ab eo dilectus probatusque, semel omnino me audiente prouectum ut de rebus suis hoc unum referret, ita secum aliquando Cluuium locutum, 'scis, Vergini, quae historiae fides debeatur: proinde si quid in historiis meis legis aliter ac uelis, rogo ignoscas.' ad hoc ille, 'tune ignoras, Cluui, ideo me fecisse quod feci, ut esset liberum uobis scribere quae libuisset?'

6 Age dum, hunc ipsum Frontinum in hoc ipso in quo tibi parcior uidetur et pressior comparemus. uetuit exstrui monimentum: sed quibus uerbis? 'impensa monimenti superuacua est: memoria nostri durabit, si uita meruimus.' an restrictius arbitraris per orbem terrarum legendum dare duraturam memoriam suam, quam uno in loco duobus uersiculis signare quod feceris?

4 adque ita miratus **M** miratus atque ita **a** atque miraris **ou** 5 laudari posse **a** posse laudari **Mou** 11 Verginium **oa** uirginium **Mu** 18 uelis **M** uelles **oua** 20 uobis **MFa** nobis **ou**

Quanquam non habeo propositum illum reprehendendi, sed hunc tuendi: cuius quae potest apud te iustior esse defensio, quam ex collatione eius quem praetulisti? meo quidem iudicio neuter culpandus, quorum uterque ad gloriam pari cupiditate, diuerso itinere contendit, alter, dum expetit debitos titulos, alter, dum mauult uideri contempsisse. uale. 7 8

66. (IX. 21.)

C. PLINIVS SABINIANO SVO S.

Libertus tuus, cui suscensere te dixeras, uenit ad me, aduolutusque pedibus meis tanquam tuis haesit. fleuit multum, multum rogauit, multum etiam tacuit; in summa, fecit mihi fidem paenitentiae. uere credo emendatum, quia deliquisse se sentit. 1

Irasceris; scio: et irasceris merito; id quoque scio: sed tunc praecipua mansuetudinis laus, cum irae causa iustissima est. amasti hominem et, spero, amabis: interim sufficit ut exorari te sinas. licebit rursus irasci, si meruerit, quod exoratus excusatius facies. remitte aliquid adulescentiae ipsius, remitte lacrimis, remitte indulgentiae tuae. ne torseris illum, ne torseris etiam te; torqueris enim, cum tam lenis irasceris. 2 3

Vereor ne uidear non rogare sed cogere, si precibus eius meas iunxero. iungam tamen tanto plenius et effusius, quanto ipsum acrius seueriusque corripui, destricte minatus nunquam me postea rogaturum. hoc illi, quem terreri oportebat, tibi non idem: nam fortasse iterum rogabo, iterum impetrabo; sit modo tale ut rogare me, ut praestare te deceat. uale. 4

66 21 tuae Mo, *om.* ua 28 iterum impetrabo ua impetrabo iterum Mo

67. (IX. 23.)

C. PLINIVS MAXIMO SVO S.

1 Frequenter agenti mihi euenit ut centumuiri, cum diu se intra iudicum auctoritatem grauitatemque tenuissent, omnes repente quasi uicti coactique con-
2 surgerent laudarentque; frequenter e senatu famam, qualem maxime optaueram, rettuli; nunquam tamen maiorem cepi uoluptatem, quam nuper ex sermone Corneli Taciti. narrabat sedisse secum circensibus proximis equitem Romanum: hunc post uarios erudi-
tosque sermones requisisse 'Italicus es an prouincialis?'
3 se respondisse 'nosti me, et quidem ex studiis.' ad hoc illum, 'Tacitus es an Plinius?' exprimere non
† possum quam sit iucundum mihi quod nomina nostra, quasi litterarum propria, non hominum, litteris red-
duntur, quod uterque nostrum his etiam ex studiis
└ notus quibus aliter ignotus est.
4 Accidit aliud ante pauculos dies simile. recumbebat mecum uir egregius, Fadius Rufinus, super eum municeps ipsius, qui illo die primum uenerat in urbem; cui
Rufinus, demonstrans me, 'uides hunc?' multa deinde de studiis nostris: et ille 'Plinius est' inquit.
5 Verum fatebor, capio magnum laboris mei fructum. an, si Demosthenes iure laetatus est quod illum anus

67 4 iudicum *Beroaldus* iudicium **Moua** 9 narrabat ... Romanum (*om.* secum **ou**) **oua** narrabat sedisse secum quodam circensibus proximis **M** 17 aliter **a** alter **Mou** 19 fadius **M** fidius **a** fabius **ou** (*cf.* C. Fabius Rufinus Lucillus *in Bull. Inst. Arch. 1870, p. 45*)

Attica ita noscitauit, οὗτός ἐστι Δημοσθένης, ego celebritate nominis mei gaudere non debeo? ego uero et gaudeo et gaudere me dico. neque enim uereor ne 6
iactantior uidear, cum de me aliorum iudicium, non meum profero, praesertim apud te, qui nec ullius inuides laudibus et faues nostris. uale.

68. (IX. 24.)

C. PLINIVS SABINIANO SVO S.

Bene fecisti quod libertum aliquando tibi carum reducentibus epistulis meis in domum, in animum recepisti. iuuabit hoc te: me certe iuuat; primum, quod te tam tractabilem uideo ut in ira regi possis, deinde, quod tantum mihi tribuis ut uel auctoritati meae pareas uel precibus indulgeas. igitur et laudo et gratias ago. simul in posterum moneo ut te erroribus tuorum, etsi non fuerit qui deprecetur placabilem praestes. uale.

69. (IX. 33.)

C. PLINIVS CANINIO SVO S.

Incidi in materiam ueram, sed simillimam fictae 1
dignamque isto laetissimo, altissimo, planeque poetico ingenio, incidi autem, dum super cenam uaria

1 noscitauit **Mou** demonstrauit **a**
68 12 tam tractabilem **Mou** talem **a** 13 quod **oua** quum **M**
14 et laudo et **oua** laudo et **M** (**M** *breaks off in IX. 26. 8*)
69 21 isto laetissimo **a** scholastico (sco- **u**) **ou**

miracula hinc inde referuntur. magna auctori fides: tametsi quid poëtae cum fide? is tamen auctor cui bene uel historiam scripturus credidisses.

2 Est in Africa Hipponensis colonia, mari proxima: adiacet ei nauigabile stagnum: ex hoc in modum fluminis aestuarium emergit, quod uice alterna, prout aestus aut repressit aut impulit, nunc infertur mari, 3 nunc redditur stagno. omnis hic aetas piscandi, nauigandi, atque etiam natandi studio tenetur, maxime pueri, quos otium lususque sollicitat. his gloria et uirtus altissime prouehi; uictor ille qui longissime 4 ut litus ita simul natantes reliquit. hoc certamine puer quidam audentior ceteris in ulteriora tendebat. delphinus occurrit, et nunc praecedere puerum, nunc sequi, nunc circumire, postremo subire, deponere, iterum subire trepidantemque perferre primum in altum, mox flectit ad litus, redditque terrae et aequalibus. 5 serpit per coloniam fama: concurrere omnes, ipsum puerum tanquam miraculum adspicere, interrogare, audire, narrare. postero die obsident litus, prospectant mare et si quid est mari simile. natant pueri: inter hos ille, sed cautius. delphinus rursus ad tempus, rursus ad puerum. fugit ille cum ceteris. delphinus, quasi inuitet, reuocet, exsilit, mergitur, uariosque 6 orbes implicitat expeditque. hoc altero die, hoc tertio, hoc pluribus, donec homines innutritos mari subiret timendi pudor. accedunt et adludunt et

1 auctori **ou** autoris **a** 5 ei **a**, *om.* **ou** ex hoc **ouF** quod **a** 10 lususque sollicitat **ou** ludusque solicitant **a** 14 occurrit **a** incurrit **ou** 21 mari] marino *anon. in Phil. Anz.* XIII. 558 24 inuitet **a** inuita et **o** inuitet et **u**

appellant, tangunt etiam pertrectantque praebentem. crescit audacia experimento. maxime puer qui primus expertus est adnatat nanti, insilit tergo, fertur referturque, agnosci se, amari putat, amat ipse: neuter timet, neuter timetur: huius fiducia, mansuetudo illius augetur. nec non alii pueri dextra laeuaque simul 7 eunt hortantes monentesque. ibat una (id quoque mirum) delphinus alius, tantum spectator et comes. nihil enim simile aut faciebat aut patiebatur, sed alterum illum ducebat, reducebat, ut puerum ceteri pueri. incredibile, tam uerum tamen quam priora, 8 delphinum gestatorem collusoremque puerorum in terram quoque extrahi solitum, harenisque siccatum, ubi incaluisset, in mare reuolui. constat Octauium 9 Auitum, legatum proconsulis, in litus educto religione praua superfudisse unguentum, cuius illum nouitatem odoremque in altum refugisse, nec nisi post multos dies uisum languidum et maestum, mox redditis uiribus priorem lasciuiam et solita ministeria repetisse. confluebant ad spectaculum omnes magistratus, quo- 10 rum aduentu et mora modica res publica nouis sumptibus atterebatur. postremo locus ipse quietem suam secretumque perdebat. placuit occulte interfici ad quod coibatur.

1 praebentem **a** praecuntem **o** pereuntem **u** praebentem se *Mommsen* 3 adnatat nanti insilit **a** annatanti (ad- **u**) insiliit ergo **ou** adnatanti insiliit tergo *F* adnatat natanti, insilit tergo *Cortius* adnatantis insilit tergo *Sichardus* 10 reducebat **a** reducebatque **ou** 15 proconsulis *Fa* · procon · **ou** 17 odoremque aspernatum in altum *Keil* 20 ad spectaculum omnes **a** omnes ad spectaculum **ou** 23 occulte **ou** secrete **a**

11 Haec tu qua miseratione, qua copia deflebis, ornabis, attolles! quanquam non est opus adfingas aliquid aut adstruas: sufficit ne ea quae sunt uera minuantur. uale.

70. (IX. 36.)

C. PLINIVS FVSCO SVO S.

1 Quaeris quem ad modum in Tuscis diem aestate disponam. euigilo cum libuit, plerumque circa horam primam, saepe ante, tardius raro. clausae fenestrae 2 manent: mire enim silentio et tenebris ab iis quae auocant abductus, et liber et mihi relictus, non oculos animo sed animum oculis sequor, qui eadem quae mens uident, quotiens non uident alia. cogito, si quid in manibus, cogito ad uerbum scribenti emendantique similis, nunc pauciora nunc plura, ut uel difficile uel facile componi teneriue potuerunt. notarium uoco, et dic admisso quae formaueram dicto: 3 abit, rursusque reuocatur, rursusque remittitur. ubi hora quarta uel quinta (neque enim certum dimensumque tempus), ut dies suasit, in xystum me uel cryptoporticum confero, reliqua meditor et dicto. uehiculum ascendo: ibi quoque idem quod ambulans aut iacens: durat intentio mutatione ipsa refecta. paulum redormio, dein ambulo, mox orationem Graecam Latinamue clare et intente, non tam uocis causa quam stomachi lego: pariter tamen et illa

3 adstruas **ou** struas **a**

70 18 remittitur **a** dimittitur **ou** 22 ibi **a** ubi **ou** 26 lego ... firmatur *om.* **ou**, *add.* **a**

firmatur. iterum ambulo, ungor, exerceor, lauor. cenanti mihi, si cum uxore uel paucis, liber legitur: post cenam comoedus aut lyristes: mox cum meis ambulo, quorum in numero sunt eruditi. ita uariis sermonibus uespera extenditur, et quanquam longissimus dies cito conditur.

Non nunquam ex hoc ordine aliqua mutantur. nam si diu iacui uel ambulaui, post somnum demum lectionemque non uehiculo sed, quod breuius quia uelocius, equo gestor. interueniunt amici ex proximis oppidis, partemque diei ad se trahunt, interdumque lassato mihi opportuna interpellatione subueniunt. uenor aliquando, sed non sine pugillaribus, ut, quamuis nihil ceperim, non nihil referam. datur et colonis, ut uidetur ipsis, non satis temporis, quorum mihi agrestes querelae litteras nostras et haec urbana opera commendant. uale.

71. (IX. 39.)

C. PLINIVS MVSTIO SVO S.

Haruspicum monitu reficienda est mihi aedes Cereris in praediis in melius et in maius, uetus sane et angusta, cum sit alioqui stato die frequentissima. nam Idibus Septembribus magnus e regione tota coit populus, multae res aguntur, multa nota suscipiuntur, multa redduntur. sed nullum in proximo suffugium

2 si cum **ou** sic cum a cum *F* 3 comoedus *Sichardus (cf. I. 15. 2)* comoedi *F* comoedia **o** comediam **u** 6 cito conditur **a** bene conditur **ou** cito clauditur *F* 8 iacui **r** tacui **oua** 9 quia **a** quod **ou** 12 lassato **a** lasso **ou**

3 aut imbris aut solis. uideor ergo munifice simul religioseque facturus, si aedem quam pulcherrimam exstruxero, addidero porticus aedi, illam ad usum deae, has ad hominum.

Velim ergo emas quattuor marmoreas columnas, cuius tibi uidebitur generis, emas marmora, quibus 4 solum, quibus parietes excolantur. erit etiam uel faciendum uel emendum ipsius deae signum, quia antiquum illud e ligno quibusdam sui partibus uetustate truncatum est.

5 Quantum ad porticus, nihil interim occurrit quod uideatur istinc esse repetendum; nisi tamen ut formam secundum rationem loci scribas. neque enim possunt circumdari templo; nam solum templi hinc flumine 6 et abruptissimis ripis, hinc uia cingitur. est ultra uiam latissimum pratum, in quo satis apte contra templum ipsum porticus explicabuntur; nisi quid tu melius inueneris, qui soles locorum difficultates arte superare. uale.

72. (IX. 40.)

C. PLINIVS FVSCO SVO S.

1 Scribis pergratas tibi fuisse litteras meas, quibus cognouisti quem ad modum in Tuscis otium aestatis exigerem: requiris quid ex hoc in Laurentino hieme 2 permutem. nihil, nisi quod meridianus somnus eximitur, multumque de nocte uel ante uel post diem

71 7 uel faciendum uel emendum **a** faciendum **ou** 9 sui partibus uetustate **a** uetustate sui partibus **ou** 13 possunt circumdari templo **a** possum circundare templo **ou**

sumitur, et si agendi necessitas instat, quae frequens hieme, non iam comoedo uel lyristae post cenam locus, sed illa quae dictaui identidem retractantur, ac simul memoriae frequenti emendatione proficitur. habes aestate, hieme consuetudinem: nunc addas huc licet uer et autumnum, quae inter hiemem aestatemque media, ut nihil de die perdunt, de nocte paruulum adquirunt. uale.

72 4 prospicitur *Mommsen* 5 nunc addas huc licet uer et autumnum quae *Casaubon* (*aft. Lectius*) *Modius* non addas huc licet uere (uere *om.* a) tantumnum quae oua colligas hinc licet uer et autumnum quae *Mommsen* 6 hiemem aestatemque media *Modius* hiemem (hy- a) aestatemque mediam Fa hiemem statim aestatemque mediam ou 7 perdant *Keil* ut nihil de die perdunt ita de nocte *Modius* aut nihil de die perdunt aut de nocte *Mommsen*

LIBER X.

(AD TRAIANVM.)

73. (X. 1.)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

1 Tua quidem pietas, imperator sanctissime, optauerat ut quam tardissime succederes patri; sed di immortales festinauerunt uirtutes tuas ad gubernacula
2 rei publicae quam susceperas admouere. precor ergo ut tibi et per te generi humano prospera omnia, id est digna sacculo tuo, contingant. fortem te et hilarem, imperator optime, et priuatim et publice opto.

74. (X. 2.)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

1 Exprimere, domine, uerbis non possum quantum mihi gaudium attuleris, quod me dignum putasti iure trium liberorum. quamuis enim Iuli Seruiani, optimi uiri tuique amantissimi, precibus indulseris, tamen etiam ex rescripto intellego libentius hoc ei te prae-
2 stitisse, quia pro me rogabat. uideor ergo summam uoti mei consecutus, cum inter initia felicissimi principatus tui probaueris me ad peculiarem indulgentiam tuam pertinere; eoque magis liberos concupisco, quos habere etiam illo tristissimo sacculo nolui, sicut potes
3 duobus matrimoniis meis credere. sed di melius, qui

omnia integra bonitati tuae reseruarunt. maluere hoc potius tempore me patrem fieri, quo futurus essem et securus et felix.

75. (X. 3A [20].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

Ut primum me, domine, indulgentia uestra pro- 1
mouit ad praefecturam aerarii Saturni, omnibus aduocationibus, quibus alioqui nunquam eram promiscue functus, renuntiaui, ut toto animo delegato mihi officio uacarem. qua ex causa, cum patronum 2
me prouinciales optassent contra Marium Priscum, et petii ueniam huius muneris et impetraui. sed cum postea consul designatus censuisset agendum nobiscum, quorum erat excusatio recepta, ut essemus in senatus potestate pateremurque nomina nostra in urnam conici, conuenientissimum esse tranquillitati saeculi tui putaui, praesertim tam moderatae, uoluntati amplissimi ordinis non repugnare. cui obsequio meo 3
opto ut existimes constare rationem, cum omnia facta dictaque mea probare sanctissimis moribus tuis cupiam.

76. (X. 3B [21].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

Et ciuis et senatoris boni partibus functus es obsequium amplissimi ordinis, quod iustissime exigebat, praestando. quas partes impleturum te secundum susceptam fidem confido.

74 1 maluere *I. A. Ernestius* malui a

75 13 censuisset agendum *Gruterus* censuisses tacendum a

77. (X. 8 [24].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

1 Dum diuus pater tuus, domine, et oratione pulcherrima et honestissimo exemplo omnes ciues ad munificentiam esset cohortatus, petii ab eo ut statuas principum, quas in longinquis agris per plures successiones traditas mihi quales acceperam custodiebam, permitteret in municipium transferre adiecta sua 2 statua; quod ille mihi cum plenissimo testimonio indulserat. ego statim decurionibus scripseram ut adsignarent solum in quo templum pecunia mea extruerem; illi in honorem operis ipsius electionem loci 3 mihi obtulerant. sed primum mea, deinde patris tui ualetudine, postea curis delegati a uobis officii retentus, nunc uideor commodissime posse in rem praesentem excurrere. nam et menstruum meum Kalendis Septembribus finitur et sequens mensis complures 4 dies feriatos habet. rogo ergo ante omnia permittas mihi opus quod incohaturus sum exornare et tua statua, deinde, ut hoc facere quam maturissime pos- 5 sim, indulgeas commeatum. non est autem simplicitatis meae dissimulare apud bonitatem tuam obiter te plurimum collaturum utilitatibus rei familiaris meae. agrorum enim quos in eadem regione possideo locatio, cum alioqui $\overline{\text{CCCC}}$ excedat, adeo non potest differri ut proximam putationem nouus colonus facere

¶¶ 9 quodque ille **Oa** quod cum ille *Gruterus* 12 in honorem *Cortius* in honore **a** 16 Kalendis Septembribus **O** Kal. septembris **a** 25 locatio cum *Cat.*[2] locationem **Oa**

debeat. praeterea continuae sterilitates cogunt me de remissionibus cogitare, quarum rationem nisi praesens inire non possum. debebo ergo, domine, indul- 6
gentiae tuae et pietatis meae celeritatem et status ordinationem, si mihi ob utraque haec dederis commeatum triginta dierum. neque enim angustius tempus praefinire possum, cum et municipium et agri de quibus loquor sint ultra centensimum et quinquagensimum lapidem.

78. (X. 9 [25].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

Et multas et omnes publicas causas petendi commeatus reddidisti : mihi autem uel sola uoluntas tua suffecisset. neque enim dubito te, ut primum potueris, ad tam districtum officium reuersurum. statuam poni mihi a te eo quo desideras loco, quanquam eius modi honorum parcissimus, tamen patior, ne impedisse cursum erga me pietatis tuae uidear.

79. (X. 12 [7].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

Scio, domine, memoriae tuae, quae est bene faciendi tenacissima, preces nostras inhaerere. quia tamen in hoc quoque indulsisti, admoneo simul et impense rogo

3 debebo *Gronouius* debeo **Oa** 4 pietatis *Gronouius* pietati **a**

78 12 et multas et omneis publicas **Oa** et priuatas multas et omnes publicas *Cat.*^{2}: omnes *uncis inclusit Keilius*

79 21 beneficiendi **a**

ut Accium Suram praetura exornare digneris, cum locus uacet. ad quam spem alioqui quietissimum hortatur et natalium splendor et summa integritas in paupertate et ante omnia felicitas temporum, quae bonam conscientiam ciuium tuorum ad usum indulgentiae tuae prouocat et attollit.

80. (X. 13 [8].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

Cum sciam, domine, ad testimonium laudemque morum meorum pertinere tam boni principis iudicio exornari, rogo dignitati ad quam me prouexit indulgentia tua uel auguratum uel septemuiratum, quia uacant, adicere digneris, ut iure sacerdotii precari deos pro te publice possim, quos nunc precor pietate priuata.

81. (X. 15 [26].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

Quia confido, domine, ad curam tuam pertinere, nuntio tibi me Ephesum cum omnibus meis ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν nauigasse. quamuis contrariis uentis retentus, nunc destino partim orariis nauibus partim uehiculis prouinciam petere. nam sicut itineri graues aestus, ita continuae nauigationi etesiae reluctantur.

80 13 uacant *Cal.*² uacat a
81 20 retentus Oa retentum *Sephanus*

82. (X. 16 [27].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

Recte renuntiasti, mi Secunde carissime: pertinet enim ad animum meum quali itinere *in* prouinciam peruenias. prudenter autem constituis interim nauibus interim uehiculis uti, prout loca suaserint.

83. (X. 17A [28].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

Sicut saluberrimam nauigationem, domine, usque 1
Ephesum expertus, ita inde, postquam uehiculis iter facere coepi, grauissimis aestibus atque etiam febriculis uexatus Pergami substiti. rursus, cum transis- 2
sem in orarias nauiculas, contrariis uentis retentus aliquanto tardius quam speraueram, id est XV. Kal. Octobres, Bithyniam intraui. non possum tamen de mora queri, cum mihi contigerit, quod erat auspicatissimum, natalem tuum in prouincia celebrare. nunc 3
rei publicae Prusensium impendia, reditus, debitores excutio; quod ex ipso tractatu magis ac magis necessarium intellego. multae enim pecuniae uariis ex causis a priuatis detinentur: praeterea quaedam minime legitimis sumptibus erogantur. haec tibi, 4
domine, in ipso ingressu meo scripsi.

82 4 in *om.* a. *add. Cat.*[2]
83 19 tractatu O *Rittershusius* (*cf. 152. 23*) tractu a

84. (X. 17 B.)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

1 Quinto decimo Kalendas Octobres, domine, prouinciam intraui, quam in eo obsequio, in ea erga te fide
2 quam de genere humano mereris inueni. dispice, domine, an necessarium putes mittere huc mensorem. uidentur enim non mediocres pecuniae posse reuocari a curatoribus operum, si mensurae fideliter aguntur. ita certe prospicio ex ratione Prusensium, quam cum maxime tracto.

85. (X. 18 [29].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

1 Cuperem sine querela corpusculi tui et tuorum peruenire in Bithyniam potuisses ac simile tibi iter ab Epheso ei nauigationi fuisset, quam expertus usque
2 illo eras. quo autem die peruenisses in Bithyniam cognoui, Secunde carissime, litteris tuis. prouinciales, credo, prospectum sibi a me intellegent. nam et tu dabis operam ut manifestum sit illis electum te esse,
3 qui ad eosdem mei loco mittereris. rationes autem in primis tibi rerum publicarum excutiendae sunt: nam et esse eas uexatas satis constat. mensores uix etiam iis operibus quae aut Romae aut in proximo fiunt sufficientes habeo: sed in omni prouincia inue-

84 8 aguntur O agantur a 9 cum maxime O *Perizonius ap. Curtium* cum Maximo a

85 15 ei *Cat.*[2] et O ut a, *om. Cortius* 20 eosdem a eos[dem] *Keilius* 24 sufficientes O sufficienter a

niuntur quibus credi possit, et ideo non deerunt tibi, modo uelis diligenter excutere.

86. (X. 29 [38].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

Sempronius Caelianus, egregius iuuenis, repertos 1
inter tirones duos seruos misit ad me; quorum ego
supplicium distuli, ut te conditorem disciplinae mili-
taris firmatoremque consulerem de modo poenae.
ipse enim dubito ob hoc maxime, quod, ut iam dixe- 2
rant sacramento, ita nondum distributi in numeros
erant. quid ergo debeam sequi rogo, domine, scribas,
praesertim cum pertineat ad exemplum.

87. (X. 30 [39].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

Secundum mandata mea fecit Sempronius Caelianus 1
mittendo ad te eos de quibus cognosci oportebit an
capitale supplicium meruisse uideantur. refert autem
uoluntarii se obtulerint an lecti sint uel etiam uicarii
dati. *si* lecti sunt, inquisitio peccauit: si uicarii dati, 2
penes eos culpa est qui dederunt: si ipsi, cum habe-
rent condicionis suae conscientiam, uenerunt, animad-
uertendum in illos erit. neque enim multum interest
quod nondum per numeros distributi sunt. ille enim

86 9 ob haec **a** 10 ita nondum **O** militar i nondum **a** militari *ita* nondum *Keilius*

87 19 dati. Lecti sunt **a** dati lecti si sunt *Cat.*²

dies quo primum probati sunt ueritatem ab iis originis suae exegit.

88. (X. 33 [42].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

1 Cum diuersam partem prouinciae circumirem, Nicomediae uastissimum incendium multas priuatorum domos et duo publica opera quanquam uia interia-
2 cente, Gerusian et Iseon, absumpsit. est autem latius sparsum primum uiolentia uenti, deinde inertia hominum, quos satis constat otiosos et immobiles tanti mali spectatores perstitisse; et alioqui nullus usquam in publico sipho, nulla hama, nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia compescenda. et haec quidem,
3 ut iam praecepi, parabuntur. tu, domine, dispice an instituendum putes collegium fabrorum dumtaxat hominum CL. ego attendam ne quis nisi faber recipiatur, neue iure concesso in aliud utatur; nec erit difficile custodire tam paucos.

89. (X. 34 [43].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

1 Tibi quidem secundum exempla complurium in mentem uenit posse collegium fabrorum apud Nicomedenses constitui. sed meminerimus prouinciam istam et praecipue eas ciuitates eius modi factionibus

1 quo O pro quo a

88 10 quos *Rittershusius* quod a 14 parabuntur *Cellarius* parabantur Oa 17 utatur a utantur *Mommsenus*

89 24 eas ciuitateis a eam ciuitatem *Keilius*

esse uexatas. quodcumque nomen ex quacumque causa dederimus iis qui in idem contracti fuerint hetaeriae aeque breui fient. satius itaque est com- 2
parari ea quae ad coercendos ignes auxilio esse possint
5 admonerique dominos praediorum ut et ipsi inhibeant, ac si res poposcerit, accursu populi ad hoc uti.

90. (X. 35 [44].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

Sollemnia uota pro incolumitate tua, qua publica
10 salus continetur, et suscepimus, domine, pariter et soluimus, precati deos ut uelint ea semper solui semperque signari.

91. (X. 36 [45].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

15 Et soluisse uos cum prouincialibus diis immortalibus uota pro mea salute et incolumitate et nuncupasse libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognoui ex litteris tuis.

92. (X. 37 [46].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

20 In aquaeductum, domine, Nicomedenses impenderunt 1
HS. XXX| CCCXXVIIII., qui imperfectus adhuc relictus

1 uexatas **a** uexatam *Keilius* 3 hetaeriae aeque breui fient *Lightfoot* hetariae* quae breues fient **Oa** (*cf.* 153.21) hetariae quamuis breues fient *Cat*[2] ἑταιρίαι ἑταῖροιque breui fient *Orellius*

90 10 suscepimus *Gierigius* suscipimus **Oa**

92 20 ductum *ed. Basil.* ductu **a** 21 H–S–xxx · ccc · xxviiii **Oa** tricies *pro* xxx *Perizonius ap. Cortium*

atque etiam destructus est: rursus in alium ductum erogata sunt CC. hoc quoque relicto nouo impendio est opus, ut aquam habeant qui tantam pecuniam
2 male perdiderunt. ipse perueni ad fontem purissimum, ex quo uidetur aqua debere perduci, sicut initio temptatum erat, arcuato opere, ne tantum ad plana ciuitatis et humilia perueniat. manent adhuc paucissimi arcus: possunt et erigi quidam lapide quadrato, qui ex superiore opere detractus est: aliqua pars, ut mihi uidetur, testaceo opere peragenda erit;
3 id enim et facilius et uilius. et in primis necessarium est mitti a te uel aquilegem uel architectum, ne rursus eueniat quod accidit. ego illud unum adfirmo, et utilitatem operis et pulchritudinem saeculo tuo esse dignissimam.

93. (X. 38 [47].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

1 Curandum est ut aqua in Nicomedensem ciuitatem perducatur. uere credo te ea qua debebis diligentia hoc opus aggressurum. sed medius fidius ad eandem diligentiam tuam pertinet inquirere quorum uitio ad hoc tempus tantam pecuniam Nicomedenses perdiderint, ne, cum inter se gratificantur, et incohauerint aquae ductus et reliquerint. quicquid itaque compereris perfer in notitiam meam.

2 · cc · a 10 peragenda O agenda a 11 et in primis a sed in primis *Schaeferus*

93 23 cum a dum *Gronouius* et inchoauerint, quid itaque compereris per aquaeductus, et reliquerint, fer in notitiam meam **Oa**, *corr. Cuf.*[2] (quidquid *pro* quid *Schaeferus*)

94. (X. 52 [60].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

Diem, domine, quo seruasti imperium dum suscipis, quanta mereris laetitia celebrauimus, precati deos ut te generi humano, cuius tutela et securitas saluti tuae innisa est, incolumem florentemque praestarent. praeiuimus et commilitonibus ius iurandum more sollemni, eadem prouincialibus certante pietate iurantibus.

95. (X. 53 [61].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

Quanta religione et laetitia commilitones cum prouincialibus te praeeunte diem imperii mei celebrauerint libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognoui litteris tuis.

96. (X. 54 [62].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

Pecuniae publicae, domine, prouidentia tua et 1
ministerio nostro et iam exactae sunt et exiguntur; quae uereor ne otiosae iaceant. nam et praediorum comparandorum aut nulla aut rarissima occasio est, nec inueniuntur qui uelint debere rei publicae, prae-

94 5 te *om.* a 7 praeiimus **Oa** praeiuimus **A** more solenni eadem prouincialibus certant (certante *Mommsenus*) pietate iurantibus **A** more solemni praestantibus et prouincialibus qui eadem certarunt pietate iurantibus **a**

95 12 ac **A** ac **a** 14 cognoui **a** agnoui **A**

sertim duodenis assibus, quanti a priuatis mutuantur.
2 dispice ergo, domine, numquid minuendam usuram ac per hoc idoneos debitores inuitandos putes, et si nec sic reperiuntur, distribuendam inter decuriones pecuniam, ita ut recte rei publicae caueant; quod quanquam inuitis et recusantibus minus acerbum erit leuiore usura constituta.

97. (X. 55 [63].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

Et ipse non aliud remedium dispicio, mi Secunde carissime, quam ut quantitas usurarum minuatur, quo facilius pecuniae publicae collocentur. modum eius ex copia eorum qui mutuabuntur tu constitues. inuitos ad accipiendum compellere, quod fortassis ipsis otiosum futurum sit, non est ex iustitia nostrorum temporum.

98. (X. 65 [71].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

1 Magna, domine, et ad totam prouinciam pertinens quaestio est de condicione et alimentis eorum quos
2 uocant *θρεπτούς*. In qua ego auditis constitutionibus principum, quia nihil inueniebam aut proprium aut uniuersale quod ad Bithynos referretur, consulendum te existimaui quid obseruari uelles: neque putaui posse me in eo quod auctoritatem tuam posceret

96 3 nec sic *Orellius* ne sic **Aa** ne sic quidem *Cat.*²
97 11 quo *Ber.* **a** qui **A**
98 22 ferretur **A** feretur **a** 23 neque enim putaui **a**

exemplo esse contentum. recitabatur autem apud me 3
edictum quod dicebatur diui Augusti ad Anniam pertinens: recitatae et epistulae diui Vespasiani ad Lacedaemonios et diui Titi ad eosdem [Achaeos], et Domitiani ad Auidium Nigrinum et Armenium Brocchum proconsules, item ad Lacedaemonios: quae ideo tibi non misi, quia et parum emendatae et quaedam non certae fidei uidebantur, et quia uera et emendata in scriniis tuis esse credebam.

99. (X. 66 [72].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

Quaestio ista quae pertinet ad eos qui liberi nati 1
expositi, deinde sublati a quibusdam et in seruitute educati sunt saepe tractata est, nec quicquam inuenitur in commentariis eorum principum qui ante me fuerunt, quod ad omnes prouincias sit constitutum. epistulae 2
sane sunt Domitiani ad Auidium Nigrinum et Armenium Brocchum, quae fortasse debeant obseruari, sed intra eas prouincias de quibus rescripsit, inter quas non est Bithynia; et ideo nec adsertionem denegandam iis qui ex eius modi causa in libertatem uindicabuntur puto, neque ipsam libertatem redimendam pretio alimentorum.

1 exemplo **O** *Ber.* exemplis **a** exemplum **A** 2 Asiam *Hardeius* 4 eosdem acheos **A** eosdem et Achaeos **O** *Budaeus* eosdem dein ad Achaeos **a** 7 parum emendatae **Aa** parum emendata *Bud.*

99 18 debeant **A** debebant **a** 19 intra *Keilius* inter **Aa** rescripsit, inter quas non est Bithynia *Keilius* rescripsit: inter quas est Bithinia **A** rescripsit non est Bithynia **a**

100. (X. 79 [83].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

1 Cautum est, domine, Pompeia lege, quae Bithynis data est, ne quis capiat magistratum neue sit in senatu minor annorum XXX. eadem lege comprehensum est 2 ut qui ceperint magistratum sint in senatu. secutum est dein edictum diui Augusti, quo permisit minores 3 magistratus ab annis XXV. capere. quaeritur ergo an qui minor XXX. annorum gessit magistratus possit a censoribus in senatum legi, et si potest, an ii quoque qui non gesserint possint per eandem interpretationem ab ea aetate senatores legi a qua illis magistratum gerere permissum est; quod alioqui factitatum adhuc et esse necessarium dicitur, quia sit aliquanto melius honestorum hominum liberos quam e plebe in curiam 4 admitti. ego a destinatis censoribus quid sentirem interrogatus, eos quidem qui minores XXX. annis gessissent magistratum putabam posse in senatum et secundum edictum Augusti et secundum legem Pompeiam legi, quoniam Augustus gerere magistratus minoribus annis XXX. permisisset, lex senatorem esse 5 uoluisset qui gessisset magistratum. de iis autem qui non gessissent, quamuis essent aetatis eiusdem cuius illi quibus gerere permissum est, haesitabam; per quod effectum est ut te, domine, consulerem quid obseruari uelles. capita legis, tum edictum Augusti litteris subieci.

100 8 XXV. *scripsi* duobus et uiginti **Aa** (XXII *pro* XXU) 10 hi quoque qui non gesserint possint **A** an ex iis qui quoque non gesserint possit quis **a** 12 senatores *Ber.* senator **Aa**

101. (X. 80 [84].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

Interpretationi tuae, mi Secunde carissime, idem existimo hactenus, edicto diui Augusti nouatam esse legem Pompeiam ut magistratum quidem capere possent ii qui non minores XXV. annorum essent, et qui cepissent, in senatum cuiusque ciuitatis peruenirent. ceterum non capto magistratu eos qui minores XXX. annorum sint, quia magistratum capere possint, in curiam etiam loci cuiusque non existimo legi posse.

102. (X. 88 [89].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

Opto, domine, et hunc natalem et plurimos alios quam felicissimos agas, aeternaque laude florentem uirtutis tuae gloriam [quam] incolumis et fortis aliis super alia operibus augeas.

103. (X. 89 [90].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

Agnosco uota tua, mi Secunde carissime, quibus precaris ut plurimos et felicissimos natales florente statu rei publicae nostrae agam.

101 3 idem existimo **O** *Cat.* **a** (ut existimo) **A** similiter existimo *Orellius* 6 XXV. *scripsi* (*ut supra*) duo et uiginti **A** duorum et uiginti **a** qui cepissent *Ber.* quia coepissent **A** qui accepissent **a**

102 15 gloriam quam incolumis **Aa** gloriam et incolumis *Cat.*[2]

104. (X. 96 [97].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

Sollemne est mihi, domine, omnia de quibus dubito ad te referre. quis enim potest melius uel cunctationem meam regere uel ignorantiam instruere? cognitionibus de Christianis interfui nunquam: ideo nescio quid et quatenus aut puniri soleat aut quaeri. nec mediocriter haesitaui sitne aliquod discrimen aetatum an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differant; detur paenitentiae uenia an ei qui omnino Christianus fuit desisse non prosit; nomen ipsum, si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia nomini puniantur.

Interim *in* iis qui ad me tanquam Christiani deferebantur hunc sum secutus modum. interrogaui ipsos an essent Christiani. confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogaui, supplicium minatus: perseuerantes duci iussi. neque enim dubitabam, qualecunque esset quod fatercntur, pertinaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri. fuerunt alii similis amentiae quos, quia ciues Romani erant, adnotaui in urbem remittendos.

Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine plures species inciderunt. propositus est libellus sine auctore multorum nomina continens. qui negabant esse se Christianos aut fuisse, cum prac-

104 5 instruere Oa extruere A excutere *Ber.* 10 deturne a 11 ipsum etiam si a 12 cohaerentia O *Ber.* cohaerenti Aa 14 in *om.* Aa, *add. Cat.*^{2} 19 pertinaciam A peruicaciam a 26 negant Aa esse se A se esse a *Cat.*

cunte me deos appellarent, et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, ture ac uino supplicarent, praeterea male dicerent Christo, quorum nihil posse cogi dicuntur qui sunt re uera Christiani, dimittendos esse putaui. alii ab 6 indice nominati esse se Christianos dixerunt et mox negauerunt; fuisse quidem, sed desisse, quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante uiginti. hi quoque omnes et imaginem tuam deorumque simulacra uenerati sunt et Christo male dixerunt. adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse sum- 7 mam uel culpae suae uel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem conuenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum in uicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium; quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse uetueram. quo magis 8 necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quae ministrae dicebantur, quid esset ueri et per tormenta quaerere. nihil aliud inueni quam superstitionem prauam, immodicam.

4 posse cogi **A** cogi posse **a** 5 esse *om.* **a** 7 desisse **a** desiisse **A** 9 uiginti. Hi quoque omnes et *Lightfoot* uiginti quoque. Omnes et **Aa** uiginti quinque. omnes qui *Rittershusius* 10 sunt ii et **Aa** 18 coeundi **Oa**, *om.* **A** 20 desisse **a** desiisse **A** 21 et aerias* esse **a** et caeras esse **A** 23 quaerere. nihil **A** quarere. sed nihil **a** prauam immodicam **A** prauam et immodicam **a**

Ideo dilata cognitione ad consulendum te decucurri.
9 uisa est enim mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam, uocantur in periculum et uocabuntur. neque ciuitates tantum sed uicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio peruagata est; quae uidetur sisti et
10 corrigi posse. certe satis constat prope iam desolata templa coepisse celebrari et sacra sollemnia diu intermissa repeti pastumque uenire uictimarum, cuius adhuc rarissimus emptor inueniebatur. ex quo facile est opinari quae turba hominum emendari possit, si sit paenitentiae locus.

105. (X. 97 [98].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

1 Actum quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in excutiendis causis eorum qui Christiani ad te delati fuerant secutus es. neque enim in uniuersum aliquid quod quasi
2 certam formam habeat constitui potest. conquirendi non sunt: si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt, ita tamen ut qui negauerit se Christianum esse idque re ipsa manifestum fecerit, id est supplicando dis nostris, quamuis suspectus in praeteritum, ueniam ex

1 ideo **A** ideoque **a** decucurri **a** decurri **A** 5 neque ciuitates **A** neque enim ciuitates **a** 10 pastumque uenire uictimarum cuius **O** *Ber.* passumque uenire uictimarum: cuius **A** passimque uenire uictimas, quarum **a**

105 20 deferantur **a** deferentur **A** 23 praeteritum ueniam **A** praeteritum fuerit. ueniam **a**

paenitentia impetret. sine auctore uero propositi libelli *in* nullo crimine locum habere debent. nam et pessimi exempli nec nostri saeculi est.

106. (X. 116 [117].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

Qui uirilem togam sumunt uel nuptias faciunt 1
uel ineunt magistratum uel opus publicum dedicant, solent totam bulen atque etiam e plebe non exiguum numerum uocare binosque denarios uel singulos dare. quod an celebrandum et quatenus putes rogo scribas. ipse enim sicut arbitror, praesertim ex sollemnibus 2
causis, concedendum ius inuitationis, ita uereor ne ii qui mille homines, interdum etiam plures, uocant modum excedere et in speciem dianomes incidere uideantur.

107. (X. 117 [118].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

Merito uereris ne in speciem dianomes incidat inuitatio, quae et in numero modum excedit et quasi

2 in *om.* **Aa**

106 12 concedendum ius inuitationis *Schefferus* concedendum iussi inuitationes **a** concedendum iussi immutationes **A** concedendum iussisti inuitationes **O** *Bud.* concedendas esse inuitationes *Orellius* sicut arbitror non imprudenter prasertim ex solemnibus causis concedendum iussi inuitationes *Cat.* (sicut arbitror), praesertim ex sollemnibus causis, concedendas iussisti inuitationes *Hardeius* 14 dianomes **O** *Casaubonus* diamones **a** Diamories **A** incidere *Cat.* incipere **Aa**

107 18 diamones **a** Diamones **A** 19 inuitatio *Ber.* **a** immutatio **A**

per corpora, non uiritim singulos ex notitia, ad sollemnes sportulas contrahit. sed ego ideo prudentiam tuam elegi ut formandis istius prouinciae moribus ipse moderareris et ea constitueres quae ad perpetuam eius prouinciae quietem essent profutura.

108. (X. 120 [121].)

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI.

1 Vsque in hoc tempus, domine, neque cuiquam diplomata commodaui neque in rem ullam nisi tuam misi. quam perpetuam seruationem meam quaedam
2 necessitas rupit. uxori enim meae audita morte aui uolenti ad amitam suam excurrere usum eorum negare durum putaui, cum talis officii gratia in celeritate consisteret sciremque rationem itineris probaturum, cuius causa erat pietas. haec tibi scripsi quia mihi parum gratus fore uidebar, si dissimulassem inter alia beneficia hoc quoque me debere indulgentiae tuae, quod fiducia eius quasi consulto te non dubitaui facere, quem si consuluissem, sero fecissem.

4 constitueres *Ernestius* constituas **Aa**

108 14 sciremque rationem **A** sciremque te rationem **a** 15 haec tibi scripsi **A** haec scripsi **a** 16 gratus fore **A** gratus tibi fore **a** 17 hoc quoque me debere *Gesnerus* hoc uno quod me debere **A** hoc uno quoque me debere *Ber.* hoc unum quoque me debere *Cat.* hoc unum quod me debere sciebam **a** 18 eius quasi consulto te **Oa** eius qua inconsulto te **A** facere quem si **Oa** 19 quem si [*om.* facere] **A**

109. (X. 121 [122].)

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

Merito habuisti, Secunde carissime, fiduciam animi mei, nec fuit tibi exspectandum, donec me consuleres an iter uxoris tuae diplomatibus, quae officio tuo dedi, adiuuandum esset, cum apud amitam suam uxor tua deberet etiam celeritate gratiam aduentus sui augere.

i dubitandum

109 4 fuit tibi exspectandum (*ex* fuit tibi exspectandum) *scripsi* dubitandum fuisset si expectasses **Oa** dubitandum fuisse si expectasset **A** dubitandum fuit tibi facere quae sero fecisses si expectasses *Mommsenus*; *alii alia* 6 esset: cum **O** *Cat.* esset: et cum *Ber.* esse: et cum **A** esset usum eorum intentioni non profuisse cum **a**

NOTES.

LIBER I.

1. (I. 1.)

A DEDICATORY epistle to Septicius, serving as an introduction to the first book, or to the first published group of books (see Introd. p. xl). The Septicius addressed is doubtless C. Septicius Clarus, to whom Suetonius, another friend of Pliny (see introductory note to I. 18,—Sel. 12), is said by Johannes Laurentius Lydus (*De Mag.* II. 6) to have dedicated his well-known Lives of the Caesars. Septicius served as *praefectus praetorio* under Hadrian from 119 to 121 A.D., but was removed from office for lack of respect to the empress Sabina (Spart. *Hadr.* 9, 11). Beyond these facts nothing is known of him except through the letters of Pliny, who says of him in II. 9. 4 *C. Septicium, quo nihil uerius, nihil simplicius, nihil candidius, nihil fidelius noui.* The only other letters addressed to him by Pliny are I. 15 (Sel. 10), VII. 28 (Sel. 55), and VIII. 1, a brief letter mentioning a safe arrival from a journey, and the serious illness of a favourite slave.

1. paulo accuratius, *with some degree of care*: cf. VII. 6. 7 *oratione accuratissima* ('a carefully prepared speech.')

publicarem, *publish*: generally post-Augustan in this sense, and not rare in Pliny; cf. *e.g.* I. 5. 2 (Sel. 4); I. 8. 3; IV. 27. 5; but in IV. 11. 13 (Sel. 32) in the classical sense of legal confiscation and sale.

colligerem . . . collegi: with this epanaleptic fashion of opening a sentence cf. IV. 13. 1 (Sel. 33); V. 16. 9 (Sel. 39): and the pure epanalepsis in I. 12. 12 (Sel. 8).

non seruato temporis ordine: undoubtedly true within the limits of the book, or small group of books, to which alone this letter originally served as the introduction. And

in full accord with Pliny's evident purpose to distinguish between his letters and those, for example, of Cicero, which were and are of great value as historical documents. is the fact that from all of Pliny's letters the dates are omitted (if, indeed, they ever were dated), and of very few can the date be determined within the limits of any useful approximation. It does not follow, however, that the successive books are not for the most part chronologically successive groups of letters.

ut quaeque in manus uenerat: not to be taken too literally. A skilful selection and a careful arrangement are evident in all the books, but the author's effort is to give the effect of casualness, as if his most elaborate efforts were tossed off *currente calamo*.

uenerat: on the sequence of the pluperfect after a perfect definite, whereby the pluperfect assumes the force of a simple aorist, see I. 2. 1 (Sel. 2) n. ***promiseram exhibeo***.

2 (I. 2.)

A new speech, and its models.—Maturus Arrianus (cf. the addresses of IV. 8, 12 in the index of *cod.* B), or Arrianus Maturus (III. 2. 2), is known only through the letters of Pliny. In III. 2, where Pliny asks for him some military sinecure, he is referred to as an *eques*, and a prominent native of Altinum (in Venetia). The other letters written to him are II. 11 (Sel. 17), 12 (Sel. 18), IV. 8 (acknowledging congratulations on receiving the augurship), 12 (on an honest deed of a provincial quaestor), VI. 2 (Sel. 41), and VIII. 21 (on Pliny's recent book of verse). The nature of these letters quite coincides with the author's statement concerning Maturus (III. 2. 3), *huius ego consilio in negotiis, iudicio in studiis utor.*

1. librum: the MS. of a speech (cf. *e.g.* III. 13. 1 *librum quo nuper optimo principi consul gratias egi*). in this case as in that probably the elaborated and polished final copy. rather than the plea as actually delivered. It is impossible to say what plea this was. though the lack of further reference to it establishes the probability that it was not one of those deemed later by Pliny of special importance.

promiseram exhibeo: similar sequence is found in III. 7. 11 (Sel. 25); IV. 30. 9 *dum colligit quod exhauserat*; IX. 36. 2 (Sel. 70); *Pan.* 58, 61; cf. also I. 1. 1 (Sel. 1), and Kraut *Ueber Syntax und Stil des jüngeren Plinius* p. 37. The perfect tense seems to have lost in Pliny's mind much of

its true force in historical sequences, and the pluperfect therefore stands here almost as a simple aorist, while in other instances it appears like a perfect definite.

exhibeo, *produce*: apparently a legal term; see *Dig.* XLIII. 29. 3. 8 (of a writ corresponding to habeas corpus) *exhibere est in publicum producere et uidendi tangendique hominis facultatem praebere; proprie autem exhibere est extra secretum habere*: Pl. *Ep.* v. 10. 1 *appellantur cotidie [tua scripta] et flagitantur, ac iam periculum est ne cogantur ad exhibendum formulam accipere.* The word is used several times by Pliny in this meaning.

ζήλῳ, *warmth [of emulation]*: cf. Arist. *Rhet.* II. 11. 1 *εἰ γάρ ἐστιν ζῆλος λύπη τις ἐπὶ φαινομένῃ παρουσίᾳ ἀγαθῶν ἐντιμῶν καὶ ἐνδεχομένων αὐτῷ λαβεῖν περὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους τῇ φύσει, οὐχ ὅτι ἄλλῳ ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐστιν· διὸ καὶ ἐπιεικής ἐστιν ὁ ζῆλος καὶ ἐπιεικῶν, τὸ δὲ φθονεῖν φαῦλον καὶ φαυλῶν.* Iwan v. Müller points out (*Jahresb. über d. Fortsch. d. Alt.w.* 1883 p. 170) that ζῆλος came to be in the imperial period a technical synonym for *χαρακτήρ*, and so for *stilus*: but though this might well explain how the gloss *stilo* displaced ζήλῳ in the text, the argument is by no means convincing for the meaning of ζήλῳ in this passage. The word here is more likely from the *sermo cotidianus*, in which *zelus* tended to displace *studium* (cf. French *zèle*).

2. Demosthenen, etc., *Demosthenes, always your delight, and Calvus, lately become mine*: Pliny speaks (VII. 30. 5) of Demosthenes *κατὰ Μειδίου* as his model for the speech against Certus. C. Licinius Macer Caluus (82–*c.* 47 B.C.) was distinctly a pupil of the stricter Attic school of oratory, as distinguished from the more florid Asiatic school (Cic. *Brut.* 51; *Or.* 25; Quint. *Inst.* XII. 10. 17 *Attici limati*); and the elder Seneca (*Contr.* VII. 19. 8) speaks of his *compositio* as modelled after that of Demosthenes. Some of the criticisms passed upon the speaking of Caluus by his contemporary Cicero and by the critics nearer Pliny's time are especially interesting (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 283; Sen. *Contr.* VII. 19. 6 ff.; Quint. *Inst.* X. 1. 115; Tac. *Dial.* 21). See also Pliny's scornful comments on what was apparently the 'Asiatic' style in V. 20. 4 f.

meum: with *meus* of a favourite writer of former times cf. IV. 27. 4 *meus Catullus et Caluus uterque.*

dumtaxat: with a slightly corrective force, 'of course only,' as *e.g.* in V. 6. 12 [*Tiberis*] *fruges denchit in urbem hieme dumtaxat et uere.* Elsewhere in the letters *dumtaxat* usually has the meaning of 'though only,' or 'at least,' or

'and that only,' or 'provided it be only.' In Pliny it regularly precedes the word it modifies.

figuris orationis: *i.e.* the structure of the argument and manner of putting the points; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 69 *uerborum immutationibus, quos appellant* [*Graeci*] *τρόπους, et sententiarum orationisque formis, quae uocant σχήματα. Figurae* (*σχήματα*), as distinct from *tropi*, form the subject of Quintilian's ninth book. It is in the command of *figurae* that Demosthenes is said by Cicero especially to excel (*Brut.* 141).

uim, *fire*: a typical virtue of Demosthenes according to both Cicero and Quintilian; cf. Cic. *De Or.* III. 28; Quint. X. 1. 108.

pauci, etc.: words of the Cumaean sibyl on the difficulty of return from Hades; Verg. *Aen.* VI. 129 ff. *pauci quos aequus amauit | Iuppiter, aut ardens euexit ad aethera uirtus, | dis geniti, potuere.* Cf. also Sid. Apol. *Ep.* IV. 3. 10 *nam te . . . pauci quos aequus amauit imitabuntur.*

3. materia, *the theme.*

improbe, *arrogantly*: *sc.* in using the word *aemulationi* instead of *imitationi*. Cf. Pliny himself at another time (VII. 30. 5), *quam* [*orationem Demosthenis*], *cum componerem illos* [*libellos*], *habui in manibus, non ut aemularer* (*improbum enim ac paene furiosum*), *sed tamen imitarer et sequerer.*

erat in contentione dicendi, *was such as to require polemical treatment*: as Demosthenes reached the highest point of his eloquence in his controversy with Aeschines, so Pliny found his best stimulus in the direct antagonism of this occasion, and was thereby enabled most nearly to approach Demosthenes. Cf. Cic. *Phil.* II. 2 *an decertare mecum uoluit contentione dicendi? hoc quidem est beneficium; quid enim plenius, quid uberius quam mihi et pro me et contra Antonium dicere?*

longae desidiae indormientem, *from the torpor of continued sloth*: though *indormire* is generally used of falling asleep over, or in the face of a thing; cf. Cic. *Phil.* II. 30 *an faces admouendae sunt, quae te excitent tantae causae indormientem?*

4. Marci: *sc. Ciceronis*, who was Pliny's most constant rhetorical model; see *e.g.* I. 5. 12 (Sel. 4) *est enim mihi cum Cicerone aemulatio*; IV. 8. 4 [*M. Tullius*] *quem aemulari studiis cupio.*

ληκύθους, *couleurs, fleurs de rhétorique*: this derived meaning is from the use of the word to denote the little bottles

that held unguents for feminine make-up. Pliny perhaps borrows the word straight from Cicero; cf. *Att.* I. 14. 3 *totum hunc locum, quem ego uarie meis orationibus soleo pingere, de flamma, de ferro—nosti illas ληκύθους—ualde grauiter pertexuit.* Horace uses the Latin equivalent in about the same sense, though with a slightly derogatory turn, in *A.P.* 97 *proicit ampullas et sesquipedalia uerba*; *Ep.* I. 3. 14 *an tragica desaeuit et ampullatur in arte.*

itinere decedere: Quintilian (IV. 3. 12 f.; XI. 3. 164) cites with approval such digressions of Cicero's as the description of Sicily and the story of the rape of Proserpina in the speech against Verres, and from that for Cornelius the panegyric on Pompey. Pliny is elsewhere more severe in his judgment about digressions; cf. V. 6. 42 *primum ego officium scriptoris existimo ut titulum suum legat atque identidem interroget se quid coeperit scribere sciatque, si materiae immoratur, non esse longum, longissimum, si aliquid arcessit atque attrahit.*

acres non tristes esse, *to be forcible but not stiff*: the Roman disciples of the Attic school of oratory, in their anxiety to avoid Asiatic diffuseness and floridity, were given to the adoption of a jejune style, which was not a true characteristic of Atticism, as men like Cicero and Quintilian are at pains to point out; see Cic. *Brut.* 284 *tum Brutus, 'Atticum se,' inquit, 'Caluus noster dici oratorem uolebat; inde erat ista exilitas quam ille de industria consequebatur.' 'dicebat,' inquam, 'ita, sed et ipse errabat et alios etiam errare cogebat,'* etc.; Quint. XII. 10. 21 ff. *mihi falli multum uidentur qui solos esse Atticos credunt tenues et lucidos et significantes et quadam eloquentiae frugalitate contentos*, etc. In XII. 10. 16 ff. Quintilian discusses the characteristic differences between Attic and Asiatic styles.

5. exceptione: the *exceptio* of Roman law was the answer filed by the defendant to the allegations of the plaintiff, and on this the issue was joined: see *Dig.* XLIV. 1. 2 *exceptio dicta est quasi quaedam exclusio quae opponi actioni cuiusque rei solet ad excludendum id quod in intentionem condemnationemue deductum est.* But Pliny means rather to plead guilty and to ask for censure than to contest the case.

intendam: in the causative sense, 'prompt you to use.'

limam: the file by which rough surfaces were shaped and smoothed. The figurative use as applied to the polish of writings is common from Cicero's time downward, and occurs half-a-dozen times in Pliny; cf. *e.g.* I. 8. 3 *uerum etiam par-*

ticulas qua soles lima persequaris; I. 10. 11 (Sel. 7) *illi te expoliendum limandumque permittas*; VIII. 4. 7. (Sel. 56).

contubernales, *intimates*: the extension in meaning of this originally military term begins as early as Cicero's time, but reaches its present stage hardly before the time of Pliny, with whom it and its congeners are favourite words in this sense.

editione, *publication*: as frequently from the latter half of the first century A.D.

fortasse: modifying *errori*, 'what may be only my own foolishness'; cf. similar constructions in I. 6. 2 (Sel. 5) *undique siluae et solitudo*; III. 5. 4 (Sel. 24) n. *Germaniae latissime uictor*; VIII. 24. 2 (Sel. 60) *homines maxime homines*; and several instances in the Panegyric.

album calculum adieceris, *vote in favour of*: cf. Ov. *Met.* XV. 41 f. *mos erat antiquus niueis atrisque lapillis, | his damnare reos, illis absoluere culpa*; Macar. v. 57 λευκὴ ψῆφος: ἐπὶ τῶν νικώντων; Ap. Sid. *Ep.* IV. 6. 3 *consilio album calculum minime apponam*. In another sense Pliny says (VI. 11. 3) *o diem laetum notandumque mihi candidissimo calculo*.

6. ex causis: frequent in Pliny for the more classical *de causis*, which he also uses, though less frequently (*e.g.* II. 17. 29,—Sel. 21; VIII. 20. 2,—Sel. 59).

libelli quos emisimus: the only great speech known by us to have been delivered by Pliny before the beginning of Nerva's reign is that at the prosecution of Baebius Massa in 93 or 94 A.D. (cf. VI. 29. 8; VII. 33); but he may well have published other less important speeches.

in manibus esse, *to be still read*: cf. VII. 30. 5 *quam [orationem Demosthenis] sane, cum componerem illas, habui in manibus*. Elsewhere Pliny uses the same phrase of the process of composition, 'to be in the works' (= II. 5. 2; V. 5. 7,—Sel. 37 *inter manus*); cf. IV. 13. 1 (Sel. 33); IX. 36. 2 (Sel. 70). In both senses the phrase is common in Cicero.

bibliopolae: the book-trade appears to have started in Rome hardly before the time of Cicero, copies of whose speeches and other works were sold by Atticus (Cic. *Att.* XIII. 12. 2; XIII. 22. 3; etc.), though it had existed in Athens nearly four centuries earlier, and in Egypt; see Birt *Antike Buchwesen*, pp. 357 ff., 435 ff., 49. In Pliny's time it had spread even into the provinces; see IX. 11. 2 (Sel. 63).

sane blandiantur cum, etc.: cf. the similar concluding sentiment in VII. 4. 10 (Sel. 47).

3. (I. 3.)

The charms of country life should be a stimulus to study.—Caninius Rufus, to whom the letter is addressed, seems to have been a literary man, specifically a poet, and a man of wealth, if we may judge from the letters written by Pliny to him, or to a Caninius (without the *cognomen*) whom there is, however, no reason to believe another man. In II. 8 he is still enjoying retirement on the Lacus Larius. In VIII. 4 (Sel. 56) he is planning an epic poem on the Dacian War, and in IX. 33 (Sel. 69) Pliny sends him a true story to serve as a subject for poetical composition. In III. 7 (Sel. 25) and VI. 21 Pliny writes him the latest news about two other poets; and finally in VII. 18 advises him about the safest way in which to leave a large endowment to provide public dinners for the citizens of Comum.

1. quid: on the multiple anaphora cf. Lagergren *De uita et eloc.* pp. 38 f.

Comum: mod. Como, a town situated at the southern end of the western arm of the Lacus Larius (Lago di Como), about thirty miles north of Mediolanium (Milan). Julius Caesar planted a colony there in 59 B.C., calling the place Nouum Comum, and from his day, despite temporary embarrassments through the machinations of his political foes, the prosperity of the town seems to have been assured. It was Pliny's native place, as well as the home of his wife Calpurnia (see IV. 19,—Sel. 34); within its territory he owned extensive domains, to it he frequently returned, and for the welfare of its people he established various beneficences.

deliciae: from the Ciceronian period downward the word is used as a synonym for a pet, or favourite (as by Pliny himself of his reader Encolpius in VIII. 1. 2), but rarely, if ever, in the same sense of a lifeless thing, as here (cf. also *amores*, II. 17. 20 n.,—Sel. 21). Elsewhere Pliny uses it in the meaning of 'luxury' or 'self-indulgence.'

suburbanum: sc. *praedium*, as frequently.

porticus, *colonnade, cloister*: a covered passage closed with a wall on one side and opening on the other between the supporting columns on some pleasant area or garden. The Romans had borrowed the structure from the Greeks, and were passionately fond of it.

uerna semper: doubtless because opening only toward the south, perhaps upon an area in which the *platanon opacissimus* stood, surrounded or divided by the *euripus*: cf.

v. 6. 31 *porticus ante medium diem hiberna, inclinato die aestiua.*

platanon (πλατανών), *grove of plane trees*; cf. Petr. 131 *postero die in eundem platanona descendi.* The plane tree (*platanus orientalis* Linn.) was the favourite shade tree among the Romans, having been imported into Italy from the east by way of Greece and Sicily; see the account in Plin. *N.H.* XII. *ad init.* The story of the admiration conceived by Xerxes for a beautiful specimen of this tree is well known (cf. Herod. VII. 31; Aelian II. 14); its more noble connection was with the grove of Academe and with Socrates: cf. Plin. *l.c.*; Cic. *De Or.* I. 7. 28. The arrangement of *porticus, platanon,* and *euripus* mentioned above is suggested by Vitruvius in his description of the *palaestra,* and by Seneca in his account of an actual villa: Vitr. v. 11 *faciunda autem xysta sic uidentur ut sint inter duas porticus siluae aut platanones*; Sen. *Ep.* 55. 6 *platanona medius riuus euripi modo diuidit.* Cf. also Pliny's own villa *in Tuscis,* v. 6. 20 *cingit areolam quae quattuor platanis inumbratur. inter has marmoreo labro aqua exundat,* etc.

euripus (εὔριπος): so the Romans, following the Greeks, called any artificial watercourse, though the name was more properly applied to straits which, like the especially famous Euripus between Euboea and the mainland, showed a frequent and violent alternation of flux and reflux. Other such canals, probably smaller ones, were called *nili*; cf. Cic. *Leg.* II. 1. 2 *ductus uero aquarum, quos isti nilos ac euripos uocant.*

uiridis et gemmeus, *with its green and flower-bespangled banks*: cf. v. 6. 11 *prata florida et gemmea.*

subiectus, seruiens lacus: *i.e.* the Larian lake, with its closely surrounding hills, on one of which the villa of Rufus, like Pliny's own (cf. IX. 7), was doubtless situated. The collocation of the pair of epithets is prompted doubtless both by their alliteration and by their similarity in a part of their field of meaning. But in their more limited sense *subiectus* apparently means simply 'lying below,' while the specific subordination expressed by *seruiens* is that of affording a fine view, quite as if the lake existed for no other purpose. Cf. in this sense v. 6. 23 *aliis [fenestris] despicit pratum, sed ante piscinam, quae fenestris seruit ac subiacet*; Stat. II. 2. 73 ff. *sua cuique uoluptas | atque omni proprium thalamo mare, transque iacentem | Nerea diuersis seruit sua terra fenestris.*—As regards the asyndeton, Kraut (*Ueber Syntax u. Stil,* etc. p. 45) points out that there are in Pliny's

writings about 40 instances of asyndeton of pairs of words like this : cf. also note on I. 15. 3 (Sel. 10) *studuissemus*.

gestatio, *an alley-way*, where gentle exercise was taken in a litter. It was one of the indispensable adjuncts of great Roman gardens, and is to be distinguished from an *ambulatio* (v. 6. 17), set apart for walking, and a *hippodromus* (v. 6. 32), used for riding or driving, though on occasion it might serve for all these uses. The surface was best when firm and yet springy (**solida, mollis**), like that of a modern cinder-track. Cf. II. 17. 13 ff. (Sel. 21); v. 6. 17. With the formation of the word in this locative sense may be compared such words as *statio, ambulatio, cenatio,* which occur *passim* in Pliny and elsewhere.

quod plurimus sol, etc.: the defective arrangements of the Romans for heating the air of rooms, and the elaboration of their bathing customs made a sunny position for the bath-rooms a necessity; cf. Vitr. v. 10 *primum eligendus locus* [*balinei*] *est quam callidissimus*, etc.

triclinia, *dining-rooms*: from the Greek form of dining-couch, which had been naturalised in Italy.

popularia . . . paucorum, *for many . . . for few*: even less elaborate houses, like some of those at Pompeii, often had more than one dining-room, so that the room might be accommodated to the size of the party.

cubicula: private rooms,—if for day use, furnished with easy-chairs, and a lounge or couch for reclining while studying or conversing (cf. *e.g.* II. 17. 21,—Sel. 21; III. 7. 4,—Sel. 25), and if for night use, of course with a bed.

2. intentione, etc., *by your devotion to your property interests*: *intentio* is a favourite word of Pliny's in this sense. With *obeundae* cf. III. 1. 11 (Sel. 23) *obiit officia*; VI. 16. 9 (Sel. 45) *quod studioso animo incohauerat obit maximo.*

felix beatusque, *fortunate and happy*: a proverbial collocation of epithets; cf. III. 7. 2 (Sel. 25), and other writers *saepe.*

unus ex multis, *no better than the ruck*: the proverb is a common one in Latin, corresponding to the Greek εἷς τῶν πολλῶν; cf. Otto *Sprichwörter*, etc., p. 358.

3. quin tu, etc.: *i.e.* why not make yourself better off than the ordinary run of mortals by doing something worth doing?

humiles et sordidas curas: so Pliny characterizes the ordinary matters of daily life also in III. 20. 11 *et hercule quousque illa uulgaria 'quid agis? ecquid commode uales?'*

habeant nostrae quoque litterae aliquid non humile nec sordidum nec priuatis rebus inclusum.

alto pinguique secessu, *profound and tranquil retirement*: cf. II. 8. 1 *studia altissimus iste secessus adfatim [suggerit]*; V. 6. 45 *altius ibi otium et pinguius eoque securius*; VII. 26. 3 (Sel. 53); IX. 3. 1 *pingue illud altumque otium placeat*; Sen. *Ep.* 73. 10; Lucan X. 354 *pinguis somnos*; Ov. *Am.* I. 13. 7. *Secessus*, originally used in this sense by the Augustan poets, is a favourite word in Pliny for a vacation life in the country.

te studiis adseris, *rescue yourself for study*: cf. II. 10. 4 *a qua [mortalitate] adserere te potes*: III. 5. 4 (Sel. 24) *ut se ab iniuria oblitionis adsereret*. The word *adserere* had originally a legal signification, denoting the formal laying of grasp on a slave in the ceremony of manumission (*adserere manu in libertatem*).

etiam somnus: *sc.* by robbing yourself of sleep for the sake of study; cf. Hor. *Ep.* I. 2. 34 ff.

4. effinge et excude, *mould and fashion*: as an artist shapes a statue of enduring bronze; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 847 *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera*; and of a literary composition Cic. *Att.* XV. 27. 2 *librum tibi celeriter mittam 'de gloria'; excudam aliquid Ἡρακλείδειον quod lateat in thesauris tuis.*

reliqua rerum tuarum: on the frequent use in Pliny of the neuter plural, as of other forms, of the adjective with a limiting genitive see Kraut *Syntax u. Stil* p. 7; Holstein *De Plinii min. elocutione disput. alt.* p. 9.

alium atque alium etc.: cf. II. 10. 4 *habe ante oculos mortalitatem, a qua adserere te hoc uno monimento potes: nam cetera fragilia et caduca non minus quam ipsi homines occidunt desinuntque*: and the commonplace of Hor. *Carm.* II. 3. 17-20; II. 14. 21-28.

4. (I. 5.)

The contemplated prosecution of Regulus.—The life and character of C. Licinius Voconius Romanus, to whom this letter is addressed, are set forth in II. 13 (Sel. 19), *q. u.* Pliny writes to him nine letters of the published collection, some of them among the most interesting of his epistles, and recommends him to Trajan, as previously to Nerva, for admission to senatorial rank: see, besides the present letter, II. 1 (Sel. 15), VIII. 8 (Sel. 57), and X. 4. He may well be the Voconius who was a friend of the emperor Hadrian, who wrote for his epitaph the verse quoted in III. 1. 7 n. (Sel. 23).

—This letter is, with one exception (I. 12,—Sel. 8), the only one of the first book to which a date can be assigned within a small limit of time. It was written within only a few months after the murder of Domitian, but later than Jan. 1, 97. The emperor is dead (§ 1), the new annual magistrates have entered upon office (§11), but Iunius Mauricus, one of the political exiles of Domitian's reign, though probably already recalled by Nerva, has not yet arrived in Rome (§§ 10, 15, 16). That he was perfectly reestablished in Rome before the death of Nerva is certain from the anecdote narrated of him in IV. 22 (Sel. 35).

1. uidistine: cf. similar introduction of the subject of a letter by a personal question in III. 20 *meministine*; IV. 11 (Sel. 32) *audistine*; VI. 13 *umquamne uidisti*; VIII. 8 (Sel. 57) *uidistine aliquando*; VIII. 22 *nostine*.

M. Regulo: M. Aquilius Regulus achieved a precocious reputation as a voluntary informer in the last years of Nero's reign (see III. 7. 3,—Sel. 25,—n. *sponte accusasse*), and upon the accession of Vespasian was rescued from vengeance only by the efforts of his younger and better brother, Vipstanus Messalla (see Tac. *Hist.* IV. 42). There seems to be no evidence that he prosecuted the trade of informer under Domitian, in spite of Pliny's virulence against him in this letter, which seems to have been aroused chiefly by the *post mortem* attack made by Regulus, as a firm supporter of Domitian, upon Pliny's revered friends, Rusticus and Senecio. Whatever Mauricus may have advised on his return (§ 10),—and it was probably prosecution,—Nerva after the first was unfavourable to a revival of old feuds by a new batch of prosecutions (see IV. 22,—Sel. 35). and Regulus consequently escaped Pliny's dreaded attack, and seems to have lived on fairly good terms with him up to the time of the death of Regulus in perhaps 105 or soon thereafter (see VI. 2,—Sel. 41). The popularity and power of Regulus as an orator are evident even from Pliny's criticisms upon him (see I. 20. 14 ff.,—Sel. 13; IV. 7. 4 ff.,—Sel. 31; VI. 2,—Sel. 41), and Martial exalts him as the equal of Cicero, quite as he does Pliny himself; cf. III. 21 (Sel. 29) with Mart. IV. 16; V. 28, 63; VI. 64. 11. Martianus Capella apparently joins Regulus with Pliny (perhaps also with others?) as consummate orators of the age (V. 432). Regulus is the only living man of whom Pliny in his letters speaks sharply, and the case against him for very decided delinquency of character in his mature years appears to be not proven.

timidiorem, humiliorem: on the asyndeton see I. 3. 1 (Sel. 3) n. *subiectus seruiens*.

Domitiani mortem: Domitian was assassinated on Sept. 18, 96 A.D. (cf. Suet. *Dom.* 17; Dio. Cass. LXVII. 18).

irascerer: here, as in some other places, the word seems to be used in a semi-technical way of the disposition toward vengeance that may spring from anger. Regulus must have been perfectly aware long before this of Pliny's anger, but the death of Domitian and the accession of a prince of undoubted character now left Regulus without a protector from legal prosecution. Informers apparently fell under the penalties of the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et ueneficis* (cf. *Dig.* XLVIII. 8, *et al.*), which visited deportation (see § 5 n. *relegatus*) and the confiscation of property upon persons of social position found guilty of compassing the death of any one by false or insufficient testimony. Culprits of low station suffered death for the same offence. Cf. § 8 *irascatur*; IV. 25. 2 *iratum principem*; IX. 13. 4 (Sel. 64) *ira*; and even II. 20. 6 (Sel. 22) *iram deorum*.

2. Rustici Aruleni: L. Iunius Arulenus Rusticus had shown his daring in the cause of justice and freedom against tyranny as early as the year 66 A.D., when as *tribunus plebis* he had been prevented from interposing a useless veto in the condemnation of Thrasea Paetus only by the urgency of Thrasea himself. Tacitus characterizes him then as *flagrans iuuenis cupidine laudis* (*Ann.* XVI. 26). What his disposition was toward the immediate successors of Nero we have no means of knowing, further than from the fact that he was praetor in 69 A.D., and must at least have preferred Vitellius to Otho. Detailed by the senate among those officials sent out to meet the approaching troops of Vespasian's command, he was not only unsuccessful in his mission as an agent of peace, but was even wounded by the angry invaders (Tac. *Hist.* III. 80). His conformity under Vitellius, if not his general tendency toward political opposition, perhaps prevented his further political advancement (but cf. Dio on his not asking for advancement), though he seems to have lived undisturbed during the beneficent reigns of Vespasian and Titus, even when Helvidius Priscus suffered. But under the tyranny of Domitian his independent spirit did not allow him to remain quiet, and his condemnation for treason by the judgment of a senate totally demoralized by fear followed in 93 A.D. upon his publication of a panegyric upon Thrasea Paetus and Helvidius Priscus. His book had the high honour of being publicly burned (Tac. *Agr.* 2). The Stoic philosophy to which he adhered, and which was held to encourage independent ideas of liberty, is assigned by Dio (LXVII. 13) as a cause contributory to his death. Suetonius also remarks

(*Dom.* 10) that the banishment from Rome of all teachers of philosophy was connected with the condemnation of Rusticus (cf. III. 11. 2 n.,—Sel. 26). Pliny elsewhere calls him either Arulenus Rusticus, or simply Rusticus. Tacitus exhibits the same variations. Domitian calls him Iunius Rusticus; Dio, Rusticus Arulenus; and a single inscription (Orelli 1190), possibly referring to him, gives his name as L. Iunius Rusticus. For further references to him in Pliny's letters see the Index of Proper Names in this volume.

periculum fouerat: but apparently Regulus was not the chief prosecutor.

librum: evidently a speech, as so commonly in Pliny's letters (cf. *e.g.* I. 2. 1,—Sel. 2). This was apparently meant as an answer by Regulus to the panegyric of Rusticus on Paetus and Helvidius.

recitaret publicaretque: on the public or private reading by an author of his own work, often as a preliminary to publication, see note on I. 13. 1 *recitaret* (Sel. 9). On *publicaret* in the sense of *ederet* see I. 1. 1 (Sel. 1) n. *publicarem*.

Stoicorum simiam: there may perhaps have been some ostentation in the philosophic bearing of certain of these reforming politicians, who sometimes had adopted all the Stoic virtues but those of patience and self-possession.

Vitelliana cicatrice stigmosum: *i.e.* 'branded with the scar that marks him a Vitellian,' as a runaway slave might be. The reference is of course to the scar of the wound mentioned above, which apparently was on his forehead. The Stoic Rusticus could hardly have been proud of being known as a quondam partizan of Vitellius.

8. eloquentiam, *the style of language*: evidently the fastidious Pliny does not appreciate highly the extreme vigour of the figures of a speaker who always struck straight at the throat (cf. I. 20. 14,—Sel. 13). Perhaps also he took exception to such neologisms as *stigmosum*, which apparently occurs elsewhere only in Petron. 109.

lacerat: *sc.* in the book mentioned above; cf. such uses of the present tense of past events regarded as yet current as III. 21. 1 (Sel. 31) *audio Valerium Martialem decessisse*; Cic. *Sen.* 44 *Plato 'escam malorum' appellat uoluptatem*; and § 2 above.

Herennium Senecionem: a native of the province of Baetica, where he also served as quaestor (cf. VII. 33. 5), beyond which point he did not continue his official career (Dio. Cas. LXVII. 13). He seems to have been well known as a lawyer in Rome, and two of his prominent cases are

mentioned by Pliny. In 90 A.D. he appeared for Licinianus, who was accused of incest with a Vestal virgin (IV. 11. 12,—Sel. 32), and in 93 in conjunction with Pliny he appeared for the province of Baetica against its former governor Baebius Massa (VII. 33). In this same year he met his death. Like Arulenus Rusticus, he ventured to issue a panegyrical biography of Helvidius Priscus (VII. 19. 5,—Sel. 50; Tac. *Agr.* 2, 45; Dio *l.c.*), and was accused of high treason by Mettius Carus, condemned by a terror-stricken senate, and executed. For further references to him see the Index of Proper Names in this volume.

Mettius Carus would seem to have been among the most infamous of the informers under Domitian, if we may infer anything from the way in which Tacitus, Juvenal, and Martial mention him as the type; cf. Tac. *Agr.* 45 *una adhuc uictoria Carus Mettius censebatur*; Iuv. 1. 33 ff. *magni delator amici* | . . . *quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat,* | *Carus, etc.*; Mart. XII. 25. 5 *ecce, reum Carus te detulit.* According to the scholiast on Juvenal Carus was a dwarf and in earlier life a pet freedman of Nero. His prosecution of Senecio is again referred to in VII. 19. 5 (Sel. 50); and Pliny himself may have escaped him only by the death of Domitian; cf. VII. 27. 14 (Sel. 54). The ultimate fate of Carus is unknown. The scholiast on Juvenal declares that he and [Baebius] Massa both suffered death upon a prosecution by a certain Heliodorus, apparently meaning within the limits of Nero's reign. The error, but not the correction of it, is manifest.

Crasso: M. Licinius Crassus Frugi was of a family marked for violent death. His father, of the same name, and his mother, Scribonia, were executed under Claudius, together with his brother, Cn. Pompeius Magnus Licinianus. Another brother, L. Calpurnius Piso Licinianus (cf. II. 20. 2,—Sel. 22), was adopted by Galba, and was murdered with him after a four-days principality. A third brother, Crassus Scribonianus, apparently perished under Vespasian. And Crassus Frugi himself, who had been consul in 64 A.D., was put to death under Nero in 68 A.D. on a charge brought by Regulus: cf. Tac. *Hist.* I. 48; IV. 42.

Camerino: Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Peticus, *cos. suff.* in 46 A.D., one of the *Fratres Aruales*, and once proconsul of Africa, was condemned to death in 67 A.D. on a charge brought by Regulus: cf. Dio Cass. LXIII. 18.

molestus sum, *meddle with.*

4. etiam cum, etc.: *i.e.* even on an occasion when he

might be expected to gather as large an audience as he could, not omitting to invite any of his acquaintances of rank.

quam capitaliter me lacessisset, *what a deadly assault he had made upon me*: **capitaliter** seems to occur here for the first time; but cf. *e.g.* Veg. II. 22 *cum in militem capitaliter animadvertitur*; Amm. Marc. XXI. 16. 11 *iustumque in eius modi titulis capitaliter oderat.* For a list of the adverbs of this form used by Pliny see H. Holstein *De Plinii minoris elocutione* (Naumburg, 1862), p. 32.

centumuiros: the centumviral court appears to have been established at least as early as the beginning of the 7th century A.U.C. to deal with civil questions of ownership, guardianship, relationship, inheritance, and the like (cf. Cic. *De Or.* I. 173). Its name seems to have come from its original composition of three citizens from each of the thirty-five tribes. The presiding officers were at first *quaestorii*, but Augustus transferred the presidency to the *decemuiri stlitibus iudicandis* (Suet. *Aug.* 36), acting under one of the praetors, who was denominated *praetor hastarius*, or *ad hastas*, from the *hasta*, the symbol of Roman possession, which was planted in the ground at the meeting of the court (Gaius IV. 16). The earlier place of meeting appears to have been the open Forum, as in the case of other courts. Later the sittings were held in the Basilica Iulia (cf. II. 14. 4,—Sel. 20, —n. *basilica*). The increase in the business and importance of the court led to its enlargement at some unknown time during the first century A.D. to 180 members, who were ordinarily divided into four panels, which for common cases sat separately, though sometimes simultaneously, but for cases of especial importance might sit as a single court (cf. I. 18. 3,—Sel. 12; VI. 33. 3; Quint. XII. 5. 6). All of Pliny's important cases seem to have been pleaded before either this court or the senate; cf. VI. 12. 2 *praesertim in harena mea, hoc est apud centumuiros.*

5. Arrionillae, Timonis uxori: the people and the case are otherwise unknown, but the trial was evidently during Domitian's reign.

nitebamur, *we were resting.*

sententia: possibly, as Scheffer suggested, a 'ruling' made by Modestus sitting as a judge, perhaps as praetor; but quite as likely an 'opinion,' as of a *iuris consultus.* It is hardly likely that a speech in the senate is here meant.

Metti Modesti: he is shown by inscriptions (*C. I. Gr.* 4279, 4280, 3835; *C.I.L.* III. 355) to have been legate of

mentioned by Pliny. In 90 A.D. he appeared for **Licinianus**, who was accused of incest with a Vestal virgin (IV. 11. 12,—Sel. 32), and in 93 in conjunction with Pliny he appeared for the province of Baetica against its former governor **Baebius Massa** (VII. 33). In this same year he met his death. **Like** Arulenus Rusticus, he ventured to issue a panegyrical biography of Helvidius Priscus (VII. 19. 5,—Sel. 50; Tac. *Agr.* 2, 45; Dio *l.c.*), and was accused of high treason by Mettius Carus, condemned by a terror-stricken senate, and executed. For further references to him see the Index of Proper Names in this volume.

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molestus sum, *meddle with.*

4. etiam cum, etc.: *i.e.* even on an occasion when he

§ 5.

might ... ex...
coun... ne...
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Domitian in command of Lycia, and to have preceded Auidius Quietus (VI. 29. 1) as proconsul of Asia. Nothing further is known of him beyond what is stated by Pliny in this letter.

relegatus: by this form of banishment the culprit did not necessarily lose civil or personal rights, but was bound to live, for a specified time or indefinitely, outside a specified place or region, or within a specified place or region. By *deportatio*, on the other hand, which finally took the place of the former *interdictio aquae et ignis* (cf. *e.g. Dig.* XLVIII. 19. 2. 1), the culprit lost all civil and personal rights (though marriage was not dissolved by it), and was carried (often in chains) to some specified place, usually a small island, where he lived under surveillance. Napoleon's imprisonment in St. Helena partook of the nature of *deportatio*; the present banishment of the Bourbon princes from France is a case of *relegatio*. Cf. *Dig.* XLVIII. 19, 22; Mommsen *Strafrecht* pp. 964 ff.

Secunde: so the presiding consul addresses Pliny in the senate (IX. 13. 9,—Sel. 64), and so the emperor Trajan addresses him always in his rescripts (cf. Book X. *passim*).

quid de Modesto sentias: *i.e.* 'how can you quote here the opinion of a convicted criminal? or do you, indeed, dare to say that you do not think him a criminal?'

periculum: for utterances more innocent than this had cost men their lives in these times of terror.

flagitium: for Pliny evidently believed Modestus an innocent victim of tyranny.

mihi deos adfuisse: the proverbial expression is not to be understood as implying any actual belief in supernatural intervention then, or ever, in the affairs of men: cf. also I. 12. 8 (Sel. 8) *adfuit deus uoto*; I. 22. 11 *superest ut promissis [medicorum] deus adnuat*; VII. 19. 11 (Sel. 50); VII. 24. 3 (Sel. 52) *si deus adnuisset, pater*; X. 1. 2 (Sel. 73); X. 2. 3 (Sel. 74). For other expressions of prayer to the gods see V. 11. 3 *deos precor ut animum istum tibi, animo isti tempus* [i.e. *uitam*] *quam longissimum tribuant*; VI. 11. 4 *quod gaudium* [sc. in the success of his young friends at the bar] *ut perpetuo capiam deos oro*; also VII. 26. 2 (Sel. 53); and of more formal *uota* for the emperor's life, welfare, and success, X. 14, 35 (Sel. 90), 51, 52 (Sel. 94), 100. On the general question of the Roman belief in the gods during this period see Friedländer *Sittengesch.* III.[6] pp. 509 ff.

6. solebant: the sarcasm is pointed by the position of the verb.

tertio, etc.: the first two questions had been 'What is your opinion of Modestus?' The substance of the first answer was, 'That his case is not in point here'; of the second answer, 'That his case is already closed.' But the sarcasm of *solebant* irritates Regulus to insist on his interrogation, and to put it in a much more pointed form. The customs of a Roman court allowed to the fullest extent such *altercatio* between counsel.

pietate, *loyalty*: the exaltation of the person of the *princeps* had proceeded so far that even the use of words that might be construed as lacking in respect to him made a person liable to the charge of *impietas*, and hence of *maiestas*; cf. Paul. *Sent.* v. 29. 1 *quod crimen [maiestatis] non solum facto, sed et uerbis impiis ac maledictis maxime exacerbatur.* It would be hard indeed for Pliny to express any opinion in answer to the definite question without either stultifying himself or laying himself open to a charge of *impietas*.

7. at ego, etc.: in his retort Pliny fairly outregulates Regulus; even to raise a question concerning a judgment already approved by the emperor is, he suggests, an act of *impietas*.

utili fortasse, inhonesto tamen: the question of a possible conflict between the *utile* and the *honestum* was an ethical commonplace, especially of the Stoic philosophy; cf. *e.g.* the discussion in the third book of Cicero *De Officiis*.

8. Caecilium Celerem: possibly the person to whom VII. 17 is addressed, but otherwise unknown.

mox, *then*: *i.e.* 'next in order' (as frequently in Pliny), rather than 'soon.'

Fabium Iustum: *cos. suff.* 102 A.D., and probably the friend of Tacitus to whom the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* is dedicated. Pliny addresses to him one letter (I. 11), urging him to write him a letter, and perhaps a second (VII. 2), on an allied theme. But he is not mentioned elsewhere.

Spurinnam: see III. 1. 1 n. (Sel. 23) *Spurinnam*.

mane: *i.e.* at the usual time of the *salutatio*, on which see III. 7. 4 (Sel. 25) n. *salutabatur*.

uideas, *go to see*; cf. VIII. 8. 1 (Sel. 57) *uidistine aliquando Clitumnum fontem? si nondum, uide.* Cicero uses the verb in this sense a number of times in his letters.

sed plane mane, *but* [be sure that it's] *early in the morning*.

officias ne: with this dependence of a final instead of a consecutive clause upon *efficere* cf. such extensions to completed action as in *Pan.* 40 *effecisti ne malos principes habuissemus*; Tac. *Agr.* 6 *effecit ne cuius alterius sacrilegium res publica quam Neronis sensisset.*

9. coimus in porticum Liuiae: with the construction cf. v. 1. 9 *conuenimus in aedem Concordiae.* The Portico of Livia was built by Augustus, and is described by Dio Cassius as a *περίστῳον*, that is, a colonnade enclosing a four-square area. The references to it in literature and in the Regionaries, certain fragments of the Capitoline Plan, and some drawings by Palladio of ruins seen by him, make it certain that the Portico was situated on the Esquiline, immediately behind the present church of S. Lucia in Selce, and to the west of S. Martino ai Monti. It was one of the great structures of Rome, and though Trajan is said to have held court there, its purpose seems to have been simply to serve public comfort and convenience as a shelter and a lounging-place. Cf. the indications of literature in Huelsen's *Nomenclator Topographicus*, and the note in Gilbert *Gesch. u. Topog. d. Stadt Rom im Alt.* III. 253.

10. dispicies ipse, *decide for yourself*: the verb is especially common in Pliny in this sense of discerning between a number of possible courses of action.

Mauricum: Iunius Mauricus, the brother of Arulenus Rusticus, showed his fearless independence of character as early as the accession of Galba, when in censuring the city mob for lawlessness he declared that perhaps Nero might yet be desired back again (Plut. *Galba* 8); and again on the accession of Vespasian, when he wished to undertake the prosecution of the informers of Nero's reign (Tac. *Hist.* IV. 40). The year 93, which was fatal to his brother, saw his exile, from which he had just now been recalled by Nerva (Tac. *Agr.* 45; cf. III 11. 3,—Sel. 26). He was treated with honour by both Nerva and Trajan (IV. 22,—Sel. 35), but his later career is unknown. Pliny addresses three letters to him; I. 14 (recommending a husband for his niece, the daughter of Rusticus), II. 18 (on the selection of a teacher for the children of Rusticus), and VI. 14 (accepting an invitation to visit him at Formiae). Martial mentions him as a type of *aequitas* (V. 28).

huius consilii, *this determination*: *sc.* whether or not to prosecute Regulus.

11. in praetoris officio, *at the praetor's installation*: cf. Mart. IV. 78. 5, 6 *et sine te nulli fas est prodire tribuno,* | **nec**

caret officio consul uterque tuo; Amm. Marc. XXVI. 1. 1 *cunctorum nomina qui ad urbani praetoris officium conuenere non sunt expressa*; Spart. *Hadr.* 9. 7 *Romae uero praetorum et consulum officia frequentauit.* No social duty had become more pressing at this period than that of attendance on one's friend, acquaintance, or patron, when he proceeded in state to take possession of his new office. Pliny mentions elsewhere (II. 1. 8,—Sel. 15) that the aged and famous Verginius Rufus never failed to come from his retirement in the country to attend him upon such occasions, and that another aged and famous man, Corellius Rufus, had always been equally scrupulous (IV. 17. 6). Pliny himself, too, is at great pains to apologize to one of his friends for being unable to return, apparently from Umbria, in time to render him this courtesy (IX. 37). Cf. Mommsen *Staatsr.* I.^{3} 616; Friedländer *Sittengesch.* I.^{6} 407. As the praetorship, though not the consulship, was held at this time for an entire year, dating from the first day of January (Mommsen *Staatsr.* II.^{3} 204; I.^{3} 599), the date of this meeting with Regulus is readily fixed as Jan. 1, 97.

secretum petit, *asks for a private interview*: with *secretum* in this meaning cf. III. 1. 6 (Sel. 23); *Pan.* 53; Tac. *Hist.* II. 4 *pauca in praesens et solita respondens, petito secreto futura aperit*; Suet. *Cal.* 23 *auiae Antoniae secretum petenti denegauit nisi ut interueniret Macro*, etc.

Satrio Rufo: mentioned elsewhere only as speaking in the Senate when Pliny attacked Publicius Certus in the year 97; cf. IX. 13. 17 (Sel. 64).

cum Cicerone aemulatio: on Pliny's emulation of Cicero see also I. 2. 4 (Sel. 2) n. *Marci.*

saeculi, *age*: as frequently in writers of this period, and occasionally earlier. It is only in this sense that Pliny uses the word in the letters (and it occurs so ten times there), except in immediate connection with the name of an emperor, when it means his 'reign'; cf. IV. 11. 6 (Sel. 32) n. *saeculum.*

12. nunc: but it is hardly complimentary to Pliny's sagacity to suppose, as some editors have done, that he really did not comprehend the sarcasm of Regulus at the original time of its utterance.

intellegere: *sc. illud.*

enim: introducing the reason for the statement that the allusion might be taken as complimentary: for if (as the following sentence declares) it is most honourable to select the best models for imitation, the recognition by an opponent of

one's emulation of Cicero should certainly be counted a compliment.

13. notabiliter: post-Augustan.

palleat semper: also in VI. 2. 2 (Sel. 41) Pliny refers to the paleness of Regulus, but ascribes it to haunting anxiety about his legal cases.

haesitabundus: apparently ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

14. apud Domitianum recitata est: probably among papers seized and examined for evidence of treasonable correspondence.

Regulus omnium bipedum nequissimus: O. Keller finds here a manifest play upon the meaning of *regulus* (= *wren*). As the perky, fussy, pushing wren is the most minute and contemptible of all birds, so is Regulus the most despicable of all men (cf. *Arch. f. Lat. Lex.* IV. 139). But the meaning of *nequissimus* as properly applied to the wren has to be pushed too far here, and the phrase is more likely simply a traditional one of contempt: cf. Apul. *Met.* IV. 10 *omnium bipedum nequissimus Chryseros*; Cic. *Dom. Sua* 48 *omnium non bipedum solum sed etiam quadrupedum impurissimo*; Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 9. 4 *ille omnium non solum bipedum sed etiam quadrupedum spurcissimus.*

uerissime: perhaps Pliny is here trying a play of his own on the meanings of 'most certainly' and 'most truthfully.'

15. dum . . . uenit: from the time of the comedians the present indicative is sometimes, but other tenses of the indicative are rarely, used with *dum* in the meaning of 'until' to express the subjective imminence of the critical moment. In this especial passage Mauricus is perhaps understood to be already on the way home.

δυσκαθαίρετον, *hard to demolish.*

locuples, etc.: the wealth and popularity of Regulus are also testified to in II. 20. 13 (Sel. 22); IV. 2, 7 (Sel. 30, 31); cf. Mart. VII. 31. It is difficult to understand how he could be at present such an object of fear as Pliny represents; and the continuance of his popularity among respectable people is an indication that, joined with a fantastic taste and manner, and with a lack of ethical appreciation, he must have had a number of attractive personal as well as oratorical qualities.

concussa labantur: with evident reference to the figure above in δυσκαθαίρετον.

16. ut idem saepius dicam: cf. similar resumptive phrases towards the conclusion of a letter in III. 11. 8 (Sel. 26) *illuc*

enim reuertor unde coepi; III. 16. 13 (Sel. 28) *quod initio dixi*; V. 6. 44 *uerum illuc unde coepi*; VI. 27. 5 *ut supra scripsi*; VI. 33. 11 *iterum dicam.*

experimentis: common in post-Augustan Latinity, like *experientia*, in the sense of 'experience' for the earlier *usus* or *res*; cf. Krebs *Antib.*[6] I. p. 502.

mihi ratio constabit, *I shall be able to render a due account of, I shall have a good reason for*: a commercial term, of which Pliny (like other writers of the empire) seems to have been fond; cf. *e.g.* I. 9. 1 (Sel. 6) *quam singulis diebus ratio constet*; II. 4. 4 *facile* [*liberalitati meae*] *ratio constabit*; IX. 2. 5 *quamuis scias illis constare rationem*; X. 3A. 3 (Sel. 75); and the variety in VIII. 2. 8 *magno mihi ratio haec stetit.*

17. uerum etiam: Pliny uses this phrase much more frequently than the more common, and, in earlier times, apparently less emphatic *sed etiam*: cf. Kraut *Syntax u. Stil*, p. 28.

5. (I. 6.)

On the delights of hunting with a notebook.—To the well-known historian, P. Cornelius Tacitus, Pliny addresses this and ten other letters, viz. I. 20 (Sel. 13), IV. 13 (Sel. 33), VI. 9 (a brief answer to a letter asking his support of the candidacy of Iulius Naso), 16 (Sel. 45), 20 (Sel. 46), VII. 20 (Sel. 51), 33 (asking commemoration in his Histories), VIII. 7 (acknowledging receipt of the MS. of a speech), IX. 10 (Sel. 62,—a close parallel to this letter), 14 (a brief note on the hope of enduring fame for both). In a number of passages there are evidences of the strong personal and literary sympathy that prevailed between the two men. But the only facts concerning the life of Tacitus that are derived from the letters of Pliny alone,—beyond those mentioned in the letters cited above,—are that in 97 A.D. he was *consul suffectus* and pronounced the funeral oration over his great predecessor, Verginius Rufus (II. 1,—Sel. 15), and that in 99 A.D. he was joined with Pliny in the prosecution of Marius Priscus for extortion (II. 11,—Sel. 17).

1. **ridebis**: cf. the similar opening of a letter in VII. 29 *ridebis, deinde indignaberis, deinde ridebis.*

licet rideas, *you're welcome to laugh.*

et quidem: compare the similar use in I. 12. 1 (Sel. 8) *decessit . . , et quidem sponte*; III. 5. 11 (Sel. 24) *adnotabatur, et quidem cursim*; IX. 23. 2 (Sel. 67) *nosti me, et quidem ex studiis*; III. 9. 28; V. 8. 5; VI. 5. 1.

ad retia sedebam: Pliny's inactive method of hunting hardly differed from that of any other Roman except in the fact that he busied himself with composition while waiting at the nets. The passion for hunting, so marked in Assyria and in Greece, was practically unknown to the Romans until introduced into Italy with other Greek fashions. And even then the Romans never learned to appreciate the excitement of the chase, and the exhilaration of conflict with beasts able to offer some defence. They cared mainly for the mere brutality of killing, and the counting of large bags. The thing most to the popular taste was the gladiatorial *uenatio* in the arena. When Romans themselves hunted, it was usually, as in some regions to the present day, by enclosing a considerable space in the forest with strong nets, and driving the game into this *cul-de-sac* by a long line of beaters with dogs. The noble Nimrod could then butcher the imprisoned beasts with safety and ease. Cf. fig. 990 in Guhl u. Koner *Leben d. Griech. u. Römer*,[6] and such literary allusions as Hor. *Epod.* 2. 31 f. *aut trudit acres hinc et hinc multa cane | apros in obstantes plagas.* On the other hand, such passages as Hor. *Carm.* I. 1. 25-28, and Verg. *Aen.* IV. 130 ff. reflect rather the Eastern idea of hunting. On the whole subject see Miller *Das Jagdwesen der alten Griechen u. Römer.*

uenabulum, lancea: the former was the usual hunting-spear for thrusting, with a long and broad blade; the latter was used for throwing, especially with the help of an *ammentum*; cf. Baumeister *Denkmäler*, etc. III. p. 2077, and Lindenschmit *Tracht u. Bewaffnung.*

stilus et pugillares: temporary notes, or even brief letters, were usually written on wax-tablets, *cerae* or *pugillares* (sc. *tabellae*, *libelli*, or *codicilli*), these being small, thin, oblong plaques of wood, or even of ivory, hinged together on the long edge to form diptychs or triptychs, and having on the sides that folded together a slightly sunken surface covered with a thin coating of wax. This wax surface was usually tinted red or black, and on it the writing was scratched with the stilus, which was a short stick of bronze, iron, bone, or ivory, pointed at one end, and with a knob or flattened surface at the other for convenience of erasure by smoothing the surface of the wax. Cf. VII. 27. 7 (Sel. 54) *poscit pugillares, stilum, lumen*, and elsewhere in Pliny *passim*; and the illustrations in Baumeister *Denkmäler*, etc., I. p. 355; III. p. 1584 f.; Marquardt *Privatleben*,[2] pp. 801 ff.

meditabar: almost the technical word for poetical composition, which is doubtless here referred to; cf. Verg. *Ecl.*

6. 82 ff. *omnia quae Phoebo quondam meditante beatus | audiit Eurotas . . . | ille canit*; Hor. *Sat.* I. 9. 2 *nescio quid meditans nugarum*; *Ep.* II. 2. 76 *i nunc et uersus tecum meditare canoros*. On Pliny's writing of verses see IV. 27; V. 3 (Sel. 36); VII. 4 (Sel. 47), 9 (Sel. 49).

plenas tamen ceras: cf. IX. 36. 6 (Sel. 70) *uenor aliquando, sed non sine pugillaribus, ut, quamuis nihil ceperim, non nihil referam*. With the colloquial *ceras* for *pugillares* cf. VII. 27. 9 (Sel. 54) *rursusque ceris et stilo incumbit* (where *ceris* repeats *pugillares* in § 7).

2. mirum est ut animus excitetur: cf. VII. 9. 13 (Sel. 49) for similar phraseology, and I. 9. 1 (Sel. 6); IV. 7. 1 (*Sel.* 31) *mirum est quam*.

iam, *moreover, and in the next place*: pointing the immediate succession in thought of an added particular. Cf. Hand *Tursell.* III. 144.

undique siluae: cf. I. 2. 5 (Sel. 2) n. *fortasse* (for the construction).

magna cogitationis incitamenta sunt: but Quintilian thought otherwise; cf. Inst. X. 3. 23 *mihi certe iucundus hic magis quam studiorum hortator uidetur esse secessus*, and the passage in connection therewith. From Pliny himself cf. IX. 10. 2 (Sel. 62) *poemata quiescunt, quae tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas*.

3. non Dianam, etc.: a fair illustration of Pliny's liking for an epigrammatic ending of a letter. On the sentiment cf. IX. 10. 1 (Sel. 62) *aprorum tanta penuria est ut Mineruae et Dianae, quas ais pariter colendas, conuenire non possit*; and on the fact, V. 18. 2 *ego in Tuscis et uenor et studeo, quae interdum alternis interdum simul facio, nec tamen adhuc possum pronuntiare utrum sit difficilius, capere aliquid an scribere*.

6. (I. 9.)

On the frittering away of life in the city.—To this same C. Minicius Fundanus were probably written also IV. 15 (asking him as probably consul the next year to select Asinius Bassus as his quaestor), and VI. 6 (requesting his support of the candidacy of Iulius Naso). Fundanus appears to have been actually *consul suffectus* in 107 or 108 A.D., and proconsul of Asia under Hadrian. In V. 16 (Sel. 39) Pliny speaks most touchingly of the death of his young daughter.—On the general character of daily life in imperial Rome see Friedländer *Sittengesch.*[6] vol. I. c. 4 *Der gesellige Verkehr*

1. mirum est quam: cf. I. 6. 2 (Sel. 5) n. *mirum est ut.*

ratio constet, *one can render a justifiable account*: cf. I. 5. 16 (Sel. 4) n. *mihi ratio constabit.*

pluribus iunctisque, *a number of consecutive days.*

2. officio togae uirilis interfui, *I attended a coming-of-age party.* On the day when the young man celebrated his arrival at majority the crimson-bordered toga (*praetexta*) of boyhood was formally laid aside before the altar of the Penates at home, and the plain white toga (*pura*) of manhood formally put on. The *bulla* was also dedicated to the Penates, and the new *tiro*, accompanied, if of prominent family, by a train of relatives, friends, and clients, went to the Forum for formal introduction as a citizen, and for entrance on the tribal list, and thence to offer sacrifice on the Capitol to Jove and Iuuentas. The rest of the day seems to have been devoted to feasting and merry-making. The usual day for the ceremony was the Liberalia (Mar. 17), but other days are also mentioned. The year was determined by the authority of the *pater familias*, and known instances show a variation from the 12th to the 19th years of age, with most instances falling between the 14th and 16th years. The custom of making a great day of this occasion seems to have been popular also in the provinces; cf. X. 116 (Sel. 106): and in general Marquardt *Privatleben*[2] pp. 123 ff.; De-Marchi *Il Culto Privato* I. p. 175.

sponsalia, nuptias: social obligations with regard to attendance upon these ceremonies were much like our own. The *sponsalia*, earlier marked by a contract between the respective *patres* (cf. the comedians *passim*) that had a legal force, had come to be merely a social party given upon occasion of the announcement of a marriage engagement. On wedding ceremonies cf. Marquardt *Privatleben*[2] pp. 47 ff.; De-Marchi *Il Culto Privato* pp. 145 ff.

ad signandum testamentum: in order for a written will to be valid it must be signed by the testator in the presence of seven qualified witnesses, whose names and seals must immediately be affixed in one another's presence, so closing the document that it could not be opened without breaking the seals: cf. Iust. *Inst.* II. 10. 3. The occasion of the signing of a will might be made a social function by the testator; cf. the anecdote about Regulus in II. 20. 10 f. (Sel. 22).

in aduocationem: *i.e.* to lend moral support and show sympathy by attending a litigant in court; cf. Ascon. *in Div. Verr.* 11 *qui defendit alterum in iudicio aut patronus dicitur, si orator est, aut aduocatus, si ius suggerit, aut praesentiam*

suam commodat amico, etc. But in Pliny's time *aduocatio* and *aduocatus* had already begun to be used of pleading; cf. *e.g.* v. 13. 2, 5, 6.

in consilium: not to give advice to a non-professional person on points of law (the *aduocatus* or the *iuris consultus* did that), but to sit as one of a number of assessors to a presiding magistrate; cf. *e.g.* I. 20. 12 (Sel. 13) *frequenter egi, frequenter iudicaui, frequenter in consilio fui*; IV. 22. 1 (Sel. 35) *interfui principis optimi cognitioni, in consilium adsumptus*; VI. 31. 1 *euocatus in consilium a Caesare nostro* (where the sequence shows the nature of the duty); V. 1. 5 *adhibui in consilium duos . . . his circumdatus in cubiculo meo sedi; dixit Curianus quae pro se putabat . . . deinde secessi et ex consilii sententia 'uideturʼ inquam*, etc.; VI. 11. 1 *adhibitus in consilium a praefecto urbis audiui ex diuerso agentes.*

3. inania, *trivial, useless.*

cum secesseris, *when you are away in the country*: the absolute use of *secedere* in this sense is common in Pliny, and common to him with Quintilian, Suetonius, and other writers of the Silver Age. See also I. 3. 3 (Sel. 3) n. *alto pinguique secessu.*

subit recordatio: cf. IV. 24. 1 *subiit recordatio.*

quot . . . quam: on the (double) *epiphonema* see III. 5. 13 (Sel. 24) n. *tanta.*

frigidis, *dreary, fruitless*: joined with *inanis* also in IV. 17. 4 *omnia ista frigida et inania uidentur*; IX. 6. 3 (Sel. 61) *in re inani, frigida.* Cf. *ψυχρός.*

4. Laurentino meo: Pliny's country-seat near Laurentum is described by him at length in II. 17 (Sel. 21).

corpori uaco, *have leisure to devote to the body.*

cuius fulturis animus sustinetur: cf. the same figure in Lucr. III. 125 *non omnia corpora ex aequo fulcire salutem.*

5. The two clauses **nihil . . . audisse, nihil . . . dixisse paeniteat** correspond respectively to the two explicative clauses **nemo me . . . carpit, neminem . . . reprehendo.**

nemo me . . . reprehendo: *i.e.* I am neither hurt by malicious insinuations, nor tempted to the weakness of revenging myself in kind. The reading of **MV**, etc. is probably due to an attempt to amend, in the interest of a higher ethical idea, by a critic who did not observe the parallelism noted above, nor understand the exceeding sensitiveness of Pliny to hostile criticism. Cf. also VII. 26. 2 (Sel. 53).

inquietor: a verb of the Silver Age.

6. negotio, *activity*: the ideal of life for a well-born Roman was still so thoroughly an active political career that Pliny, with that striking deference to formalities from which he supposes himself to be free, can hardly keep from apologizing for enjoying the quiet of a literary life. Cf. Cicero's opinion of *honestum otium* expressed in *Off.* I. 69 ff., and Seneca's eloquent praise of the true *otium* of study in *Brev. Vit.* 14 ff.

μουσεῖον, *haunt of the Muses*: for here by the sea-shore, and not on Helicon, they reveal themselves to their devotee. Some editors, following apparently a discursive and pointless note of Catanaeus (1506), imagine Pliny refers to the famous Museum of Alexandria, founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus as a seat of learning.

inuenitis, dictatis, *conceive, compose*: as if identifying the spirit of the scene with the writer whom it inspires. The common practice of dictating compositions to an amanuensis is referred to a number of times by Pliny (cf. *e.g.* IX. 36. 2,—Sel. 70).

7. multum: instances of such adverbial use of the accusative of adjectives are found occasionally in Cicero, and not infrequently in Horace and later writers: cf. Kraut *Synt. u. Stil* p. 8.

8. Atilius: doubtless the Atilius Crescens referred to in VI. 8 as a friend of Pliny's from boyhood, born within a day's journey from Comum. (Pliny mentions the learning, the *lepores*, the *hilaritas*, and the *facetiae* of Atilius Crescens as his especial characteristics.) Another epigrammatic remark of *Atilius noster* is quoted in II. 14. 2 (Sel. 20).

eruditissime: with the true Roman idea that wit is a matter of education; cf. also I. 16. 6 (Sel. 11) n. *aut uxorem*, etc.

satius est . . . otiosum esse quam nihil agere, *it is better to be idle than to do nothing*: cf. the remark of the elder Africanus quoted by Cicero from Cato's ἀποφθέγματα in *Off.* III. 1 *nunquam se minus otiosum esse quam cum otiosus, nec minus solum quam cum solus esset* (quoted also in *Rep.* I. 27 as *nunquam se plus agere quam nihil cum ageret*, etc.), and Seneca *Brev. Vit.* 12. 2 *quorundam otium occupatum est. . . . quorum non otiosa uita dicenda est, sed desidiosa occupatio*; 13. 1 *de illis nemo dubitabit quin operose nihil agant*; 16. 1 *sero intellegunt miseri tam diu se, dum nihil agunt, occupatos fuisse*; and from Pliny himself, IX. 6. 4 (Sel. 61) *quos [dies] alii otiosissimis occupationibus perdunt.*

7. (1. 10.)

On the philosopher Euphrates.—To Attius Clemens is addressed one other letter (IV. 2,—Sel. 30), but he seems to be otherwise unknown.

1. si quando . . . nunc maxime: cf. similar openings in IV. 15 *si quid omnino, hoc certe*; VI. 6 *si quando, nunc praecipue*: and similar phrasing, though not at the beginning of a letter, in IV. 13. 1 (Sel. 33) *si quando alias, nunc maxime*; VIII. 4. 5 (Sel. 56) *si quando alias, toto ingenio uehere.*

urbs nostra: so Pliny calls Rome also in V. 6. 4, VIII. 20. 2 (Sel. 59), and X. 68; though altogether more frequently Rome, if not referred to by name, is simply *urbs.*

liberalibus studiis: cf. the summary of subjects comprehended under this title in Cic. *De. Or.* III. 127 *nec solum has artes quibus liberales doctrinae atque ingenuae continerentur, geometriam, musicam, litterarum cognitionem et poetarum, atque illa quae de naturis rerum, quae de hominum moribus, quae de rebus publicis dicerentur*, sed, etc. The phrase is a simple translation from the Greek ἐλευθέρια μαθήματα, as *liberales doctrinae* from ἐλευθέριοι παιδεῖαι.

nunc: under the beneficent rule of the new emperor, Nerva or Trajan.

2. sufficeret unum, *one would be enough* to prove the assertion, when that one is Euphrates. The use of the imperfect tense is apparently suggested by the unreality of the case; 'one instance would be enough,' but, as a fact, there are many well-known instances.

Euphrates: mentioned by Pliny only in this letter, but known from other sources as a Stoic philosopher, born in Alexandria, but teaching in Tyre, who came to Rome in the train of Vespasian, and lived there in great honour. Worn with age and illness, he committed suicide in 118 A.D. by drinking hemlock, with the approval of the emperor Hadrian (Dio Cass. LXIX. 8).

militarem: *sc.* as tribune; see Introd. p. xxi.

penitus inspexi, *was intimately acquainted with*: cf. IV. 17. 5 *inspexi enim penitus*: *nihil a me ille secretum*, etc.; X. 86 B. 2 *iustitia eius et humanitas penitus inspecta est.*

obuius et expositus, *accessible and open*: the epithets are rarely used of persons in this sense (perhaps first by Pliny? and only in this place) though sometimes of personal qualities (cf. Tac. *Ann.* II. 2 *prompti aditus, obuia comitas*; Stat. *Silu.* V. 3. 246 *expositos seruato pondere mores*), and

frequently of material objects: cf. II. 17. 25 (Sel. 21) *obuius et paratus umor*; III. 3. 6 *dicendi facultas aperta et exposita.*

3. aut ego, etc.: *i.e.* perhaps after all he was as perfect then as now, and it is only my appreciation that has grown with growing maturity of years and study.

4. nisi artifex, nisi sapiens: Pliny often simply compounds *nisi* with a noun or an adjective, as here: cf. also *e.g.* IV. 13. 8 (Sel. 33) *ne . . . nisi dignus accipiat.*

5. quoque, *also*: *i.e.* as well as those who are truly *sapientes.* But Pliny occasionally uses *quoque* clearly to emphasise the modified word (=*even*), as in V. 10. 2 *tu tamen meam quoque cunctationem tarditatemque uicisti.*

aduertant et adficiant, *win the attention and devotion of*: with this limitation and intensification of the meaning of *adficere* cf. III. 1. 9 (Sel. 23) *quibus delectatur nec adficitur.*

latitudinem, *sweep, range*: cf. I. 20. 19 (Sel. 13) *oratio lata et magnifica et excelsa* (of Pericles); Cic. *Or.* 5 *in philosophia amplitudo Platonis*; Diog. Laer. 3. 4. Quintilian in IX. 4. 129 gives an idea of the quality meant, *totum autem hoc adhibendum est quod sit amplius compositionis genus, cum iudex non solum rem tenet, sed etiam captus est oratione et se credit actori et uoluptate iam ducitur.*

effingit, *reproduces*: cf. IX. 22. 2 *in quibus [lyricis] ita Horatium ut in illis [elegis] illum alterum [Propertium] effingit*; Quint. X. 1. 108 *mihi uidetur M. Tullius effinxisse uim Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, iucunditatem Isocratis.*

ducat, impellat: on the asyndeton see I. 3. 1 (Sel. 3) n. *subiectus seruiens.*

6. demissus capillus, ingens barba: for a few centuries preceding this period Romans of position, like Greeks of similar station from Alexander's time, had been accustomed to wear no beard, and to keep the hair clipped rather closely. The fashion of wearing full beards increased rapidly from the time of Hadrian, who was the first of the emperors to follow that custom: cf. Becker-Göll *Gallus* III. pp. 237 ff; Marquardt *Privatleben*[2] pp. 597 ff.; Baumeister *Denkmäler* artt. *Haartracht* and *Barttracht*; Nicolson in *Harv. Class. Studies* II. pp. 41 ff.

nullus horror, etc., *there is no rudeness in his manner, no moroseness, much seriousness; you would confront him with reverence but not with dread*: with their traditional disregard of new fashions of dress the Stoic philosophers were wont to join a cynical carelessness about gentle manners.

7. attentus et pendens, *hanging attentively on his words*: *pendens* in this sense is rather a use of the Augustan and later poets.

8. Pompeius Iulianus is otherwise unknown.

prouinciae princeps, *a leading man in his province*: probably the province of Syria, where Euphrates taught: cf. *e.g.* I. 14. 4 *Macrinus, equestris ordinis princeps*; III. 2. 1 *Maturus Altinatium est princeps*; IV. 3. 1 *quod sanctitate, quod auctoritate, aetate quoque princeps ciuitatis.*

condiciones, *possibilities*: this use of the word dates from the republican period, and perhaps was derived from the meaning of a legal option rather than from that of the terms of a treaty or bargain. But it came to mean especially marriage possibilities, and often almost with personification of the party under consideration.

9. an: here, as so often, the essentially forensic character of Pliny's rhetoric appears. Simple *an*-questions are regularly used to anticipate, often with satirical purpose, the points of a forensic adversary; cf. I. 16. 8 (Sel. 11) n. *an.*

officio, *office*: a not unusual post-classical use in the sense of *munus, honor, magistratus* (but cf. III. 1. 11,—Sel. 23,—n.) The especial office was probably the prefecture of the civil treasury (*praefectura aerari Saturni*), which Pliny entered upon probably in August or October, 98 (see X. 3A. 1,—Sel. 75,—n. *uestra*).

ut maximo sic molestissimo: cf. of the same office *Pan.* 91 *nondum biennium compleueramus in officio laboriosissimo et maximo, cum*, etc.; and Trajan in X. 9 (Sel. 78) *ad tam districtum officium.*

pro tribunali, *on the bench*: *sc.* to decide questions concerning the financial administration. With the expression cf. *e.g.* Suet. *Claud.* 42 *multum uero pro tribunali etiam Homericis locutus est uersibus.*

subnoto libellos: *i.e.* after examination of the briefs, or petitions, submitted in appeal, the court notes upon them his decision for subsequent record; cf. X. 96. 4 (Sel. 104) *adnotaui.*

inlitteratissimas litteras, *most unliterary letters*: here, as in III. 20. 11; VI. 7. 3 (Sel. 43), *litterae* is apparently used in the plural sense of *epistolae*, and here the oxymoron is the excuse for it: cf. the same phrase in Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* IV. 3. 10 (who imitates Pliny's ideas and turns of phrase in hundreds of places—too many to be cited in these notes); and cf. the instances of oxymoron in Pliny cited in Lagergren *De uita et eloc.* p. 36.

10. id ipsum: *sc.* long enough time even to complain that he has no more.

quando: *i.q.* 'how seldom.'

philosophiae pulcherrimam partem: the *dictum* of Euphrates expressed the ordinary teaching of the Stoic philosophy; cf. Cic. *Off.* I. 19 *quae omnes artes in ueri inuestigatione uersantur, cuius studio a rebus gerendis abduci contra officium est. uirtutis enim laus omnis in actione consistit*: ibid. 158 *ergo omne officium quod ad coniunctionem hominum et ad societatem tuendam ualet, anteponendum est illi officio quod cognitione et scientia continetur.* But cf. also I. 9. 6 n. (Sel. 6) *negotio.*

cognoscere: of conducting the investigation (cf. X. 96. 1, Sel. 104,—n. *cognitionibus*), while **iudicare** indicates the delivery of sentence.

promere et exercere iustitiam: probably the two verbs are closely related here, the phrase summing up the details of Pliny's official duties ('to interpret and enforce justice'); but a comparison with *e.g.* Hor. *Ep.* II. 1. 104 *clienti promere iura* might tempt one to think that the first verb refers to the honoured and dignified duty of giving legal advice to friends and clients.

ipsi: sc. *philosophi.*

11. cum proxime, *the very next time*: Pliny also uses *proxime* of time immediately precedent: cf. III. 10. 1 *cum proxime apud uos fui*; VII. 11. 5 *cum proxime istic fui.*

uenias, permittas: the hortatory use of the second person of the present subjunctive with a definite subject is rare except in the comedians, and in Silver-age and later Latin. Most of the instances in Pliny (cf. especially *Pan.* 61, 78, 85, 91) are apparently deferential in tone.

limandum: see I. 2. 5 (Sel. 2) n. *limam.*

12. bonum: Pliny uses *inuidere* in his letters at least fifteen times, and among these instances not more than two are quite probably with the ablative of the thing and the dative of the person (III. 8. 2; VII. 28. 2,—Sel. 55). Only in this collocation does he use the ablative with *inuidere.* His other constructions of the verb are with the dative of the person or of the thing, with the dative of the person and accusative of the thing (as here), with the dative of the person and a *quod*-clause, and absolutely. The construction with the ablative of the thing is by no means uncommon in Silver-age and later Latin, and Quintilian says of it IX. 3. 1 *quiene iam quidquid loquimur figura est, ut 'hac re inuidere,' non, ut*

omnes ueteres et Cicero praecipue, 'hanc rem,' . . . et mille alia,—utinamque non peiora uincant.

sensum uoluptatemque: with the hendiadys cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 129 *ex animi mei sensu ac dolore*; and see the instances in Pliny cited in Lagergren *De uita et eloc.* p. 45.

amicis superesse, *my friends have and to spare.*

8. (I. 12.)

On the death of Corellius Rufus.—Nothing is known of Calestrius Tiro, to whom this letter is addressed, further than what is contained in a few of Pliny's letters. More than one definite statement in the letters shows him to have been an intimate friend of Pliny. They were apparently of about the same age, had done their preliminary military service (see Introduction, p. xxi) together, and had been quaestors the same year. By virtue of the *ius trium liberorum* (see Introduction, p. xxii) Tiro held the tribuneship of the plebs a year in advance of Pliny; but they were praetors in the same year (cf. VII. 16). About the year 106 A.D. Tiro, the date of whose consulship is unknown, went as proconsul to Baetica (cf. *l.c.*; VI. 22. 7), where he was perhaps yet in command when Pliny wrote to him IX. 5, commending his administration.—The death of Corellius probably took place in 97 A.D., but was certainly later than Pliny's attack on Publicius Certus, which was made during that year; cf. IX. 13. 6 (Sel. 64).

1. **si iactura dicenda est**, etc.: Pliny's hesitation was probably about the intensity of the word. As a close reader of Cicero he could hardly fail to remember that Sulpicius in his well-known letter used it of the death of Tullia (Cic. *Fam.* IV. 5. 4 *in unius mulierculae animula si iactura facta est*), as well as the verb *amittere* (*ibid.* 3 *at uero malum est liberos amittere*), and doubtless Pliny might have used *calamitas*, or some like word, instead. But *iactura* had probably come to be the ordinary word for the 'loss' of a friend by death, and so had outlived the vividness of its meaning. Others have supposed, but without sufficient consideration of the wearing down of original value that a word undergoes in the course of a long life, that Pliny might object to *iactura* on the ground that its meaning was too literal (for it originally referred to jettison), and therefore suggested too slight or too materialistic an idea (cf. VIII. 16. 3,—Sel. 58,—*damnum*).

Corellius Rufus: that he was of senatorial rank is known from VII. 31. 4, where he is said to have been appointed to

assign certain land-grants of Nerva (cf. Dio Cass. LXVIII. 2. 1, who says that for this office certain senators were designated). Beyond this nothing is known of his official life. His need of a deputy to assist him in the work of Nerva's commission (*l.c.*) is perhaps an indication that his appointment hardly antedated the final attack of his disease. Pliny lauds his character again at some length in IV. 17, and both there and elsewhere (cf. IX. 13. 6,—Sel. 64) speaks of him as his own constant adviser, though, or perhaps because, conservative and cautious.

et quidem: cf. I. 6. 1 (Sel. 5) n. *et quidem*.

sponte: used in classical Latin only with a possessive pronoun (or *aliena*) in agreement, but in later Latin either absolutely or even with a limiting genitive; cf. Krebs-Schmalz *Antibarbarus*[6] II. p. 546.

exulcerat, *intensifies*: the word seems to be especially used of grief; cf. VIII. 23. 5 *quod uel maxime dolorem meum exulceraf*; IX. 9. 3 *sed quid dolorem tuum exulcero?*; Sen. *Cons. Helu.* 1. 3 *uerebar ne haec non consolatio esset sed exulceratio*; Petr. 111 *omnium eundem esse exitum et idem domicilium et cetera quibus exulceratae mentes ad sanitatem reuocantur.*

non ex natura nec fatalis, *by decree neither of nature nor of fate*: for death by 'natural causes' (cf. *morbo* below) may come either at the end of a long life, when man's work is done (*ex natura*), or prematurely (*ex fato*), snatching him away in the midst of his usefulness, or even in childhood or youth. But death from violence, whether self-inflicted or not, is, as Cicero says in *Phil.* I. 10 *praeter naturam etiam praeterque fatum.* (Cf. Gellius' inconclusive discussion of this passage in *N.A.* XIII. 1, and such other passages as Verg. *Aen.* IV. 696 f. (of Dido) *nec fato, merita nec morte peribat, | sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore*: Iust. II. 2. 13 *profecto . . . neque plus hominum ferrum et arma quam naturalis fatorum condicio raperet.*) But there was sometimes a mixture of ideas, the arbitrary interruption of the recognized course of nature by a premature death by violence being especially ascribed to fate, and a suicide especially excepted from the realm of nature and fate.

2. utcumque: joined with *magnum* ('however great be the comfort,' etc.), as the insertion of *uero* in the following clause seems to indicate, though the early position of the adverb shows a trace yet remaining of the classical feeling for *utcumque* as introducing the clause (as in II. 11. 14,—Sel. 17, etc.): but cf. V. 5. 2 (Sel. 37) *sed hoc utcumque*

tolerabile, grauius illud; and the not infrequent usage from Livy downward (Krebs *Antibarbarus* II.[6] p. 639). Other occurrences of *utcumque* in Pliny are II. 11. 14 (Sel. 17) *utcumque tamen animum cogitationemque collegi*; VI. 20. 19 (Sel. 46) *curatis utcumque corporibus*; IX. 13. 23 (Sel. 64) *actionem meam, utcumque potui, recollegi* (=*quantum fieri potuit*); VI. 2. 4 (Sel. 41) *sed utcumque se habent ista*; VII. 33. 10 *haec, utcumque se habent* (=*quocumque modo*).

qui morbo finiuntur: evidently defining the cases of death *fatales* as well as those *ex natura*.

ex ipsa necessitate solacium: cf. Cic. *Sen.* 4 *qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, iis nihil malum potest uideri quod naturae necessitas adferat.*

accersita mors: cf. Luc. IV. 482 ff. *par animi laus est et quos sperauerit annos | perdere, et extremae momentum abrumpere lucis, | accersas dum fata manu.*

3. summa ratio: the exaltation of the reason over the emotions was the especial aim of the Stoic philosophy; cf. § 9 n. *abstinebat cibo.* Lecky has a few interesting pages on the Stoic doctrine of suicide in *Hist. Eur. Morals* I. pp. 223-235; see also Zeller *Gesch. d. Phil.* III.[2] pp. 284-288; 649; 692.

quanquam: used by Pliny twenty-six times without a finite verb, but of these instances less than one-third are with participles,—a usage which is distinctly post-classical, though it occurs once in Cicero (*Fin.* V. 68). In ten instances (so Kraut and Draeger; but E. B. Lease says seven) *quanquam* is used by Pliny with a verb in the subjunctive, and in fewer (so Draeger) instances, as usually in earlier Latin, with the indicative: cf. Kraut *Synt. u. Stil* p. 35; Draeger *Hist. Synt.* II.[2] pp. 766, 815.

uiuendi causas: cf. V. 5. 4 (Sel. 37) n. *uiuendi causas cotidie finiunt*; Quint. *Decl.* III. 14 *barbaris causam uitae non habentibus*: Sen. *Med.* 547 *haec causa uitae est* (sc. children); Pl. *N.H.* XXII. 14 *addidere uiuendi pretia deliciae luxusque.*

optimam conscientiam: cf. X. 12 (Sel. 79) *bonam conscientiam*; Tac. *Agr.* 1 *bonae conscientiae pretio.*

filiam: *sc.* Corellia Hispulla, to whom Pliny writes III. 3, recommending a teacher for her son, who seems to have just reached the age when the *rhetor Latinus* took boys in hand. Corellia appears to have been then, and perhaps was already at the time of her father's death, a widow. In IV. 17 Pliny agrees to act as her advocate in a law-suit against a consul-designate.

uxorem: Hispulla, the wife of Corellius, is mentioned only in this letter. Perhaps she did not long survive her husband.

nepotem: cf. note on *filiam* above.

sororem: Corellia, one of the sisters of Corellius Rufus, wife of Minicius Iustus, and mother of an intimate friend of Pliny's, is mentioned in VII. 11, and addressed in VII. 14 in the matter of the purchase by her from Pliny of some land on the Lago di Como.

pignora: the word denoted at first (apparently no earlier than the elegiasts) not in general 'hostages to fortune' (Lord Bacon), but 'pledges' of mutual love between husband and wife,—*i.e.* children. But this figurative use was rapidly extended to include first grandchildren, then parents, afterward any blood-relation, and finally even friends, as here, and in other writers.

4. pretia uiuendi = *uiuendi causas* in § 3.

ipsum audiebam: sc. *dicere* or *dicentem*. On the general subject of ellipsis in Pliny, which is very common and sometimes very striking, cf. Lagergren *De uita et eloc.* pp. 40 ff.

pedum dolore: probably *podagra*, the gout.

patrius hic illi: and therefore inevitable; not brought on in the case of Corellius by a dissolute life.

5. abstinentia sanctitate, *by self-denial and continence*: cf. the prescription of Celsus against the gout, IV. 31 *quidam cum toto anno a uino, mulso, uenere sibi temperassent, securitatem totius uitae consecuti sunt. idque utique post primum dolorem seruandum est, etiamsi quieuit.* On the asyndeton see I. 3. 1 (Sel. 3) n. *subiectus seruiens.*

quod uiridis aetas, *so long as he was in the full vigour of life*: cf. VII. 24. 1 (Sel. 52) n. *usque ad nouissimam ualetudinem uiridis*; Verg. *Aen.* VI. 304 *cruda deo uiridisque senectus.*

indignissima, *most cruel.*

6. iacentem, *lying sick*: cf. II. 20. 1 (Sel. 22) *Verania Pisonis grauiter iacebat*; V. 21. 2 *Iulius Valens grauiter iacet.*

7. hoc moris: cf. *Pan.* 39 *neminem hoc necessitudinis destituet*; and note on *secreti* below.

quotiens intrasset: beginning with Livy, the use of the subjunctive (and more frequently the pluperfect tense) is common in place of the earlier indicative in clauses denoting actions frequently repeated, and introduced by any of the indefinite relatives; cf. III. 16. 4 (Sel. 28) *quotiens intrarat.*

quanquam : cf. § 3 n. *quanquam.*

secreti capacissima : cf. II. 13. 10 (Sel. 19) *cuius* [sc. *amicitiae*] *esse eum capacem* ; X. 50 *solum capax dedicationis* (but also with the dative in II. 17. 3,—Sel. 21,—*uilla usibus capax*) ; and on the general subject of the genitive with adjectives in Pliny, Kraut p. 12 f. ; Holstein *De Plin. min. eloc. disp. altera* pp. 9 f.

8. circumtulit oculos : *sc.* to make sure that no one was within hearing.

isti latroni, *The Assassin* : perhaps even the usual title by which Domitian was referred to among his enemies : cf. Mr. Gladstone's constant reference to the Sultan of Turkey as 'the Great Assassin.'

dedisses, *had you given* : a good instance of the infrequent coordination (instead of subordination with *si*) of protasis with apodosis in unreal conditions ; cf. Cic. *Att.* IX. 6. 6 *una fuissemus, consilium certe non defuisset ; Off.* III. 75 *dares hanc uim M. Crasso. . . . in foro, mihi crede, saltaret.*

fecisset quod optabat : Pliny may have had other reasons for believing that Corellius, had he been in good health, would have conspired against, or with his own hand would have killed, the tyrant ; but in the utterance quoted there appears to be no reason for supposing that Corellius, any more than Pliny himself, or many other illustrious Romans, would have anticipated the emperor's fate by assassination. **optabat** of course is 'wished for,' *i.e.* 'to have done,' not 'wished to do.'

deus : cf. I. 5. 5 (Sel. 4) n. *mihi deos adfuisse.*

uoto : *sc.* to live long enough to see Domitian dead.

illa : specified in § 3.

minora, *insufficient* : as too slight to hold him to life against the force of the considerations that pulled in the other direction.

9. ualetudo, *illness* : as frequently.

temperantia ; *i.q.* § 5 *abstinentia.*

perseuerantem constantia fugit, *its persistence he escaped by his resoluteness* : *sc.* in the determination to die. Corellius was but carrying out consistently the Stoic doctrine of freedom of the soul : cf. the well-known utterance of Seneca *Prou.* 6. 6 *ferte fortiter. hoc est quo deum antecedatis : ille extra patientiam malorum est, uos supra patientiam. contemnite paupertatem . . . contemnite dolorem . . . contemnit. fortunam . . . ante omnia cani ne quis uos teneret inuitos patet exitus. si pugnare non uultis, licet fugere* ; etc.

abstinebat cibo: the preference among Stoic suicides for death by voluntary starvation seems to be due to the fact that the quality of persistent resolution, as above sudden passion, is better shown in such a death than in one that follows irrevocably upon an immediate decision: cf. I. 22. 10 *nam impetu quodam et instinctu procurrere ad mortem commune cum multis; deliberare uero et causas eius expendere, utque suaserit ratio, uitae mortisque consilium uel suscipere uel ponere ingentis est animi.* In III. 7 (Sel. 25) Pliny speaks of the similar suicide of Silius Italicus (cf. Mayor's notes, especially on *finisse uitam*).

C. Geminium: otherwise unknown, as is also Iulius Atticus, mentioned below.

10. κέκρικα: cf. the utterance of a man in similar case after the third day of abstinence, in Epict. II. 15 f. *ἔκρινεν ἀποκαρτερεῖν. ἔγνων ἐγὼ ἤδη τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀποχῆς, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐπυνθανόμην τί ἐγένετο.—κέκρικα, φησίν.*

admirationis: *sc.* for the firmness of will-power shown in it.

11. quae aetas, etc.: the sixty-seven years of Corellius do not indeed fall far short of the biblical three-score-and-ten; cf. also Sen. *Brev. Vit.* 3. 5 *quae tam stulta mortalitatis oblivio in quinquagensimum et sexagensimum annum differre sana consilia, et inde uelle uitam incohare quo pauci perduxerunt?* but instances of a much greater age were certainly not rare in Roman times. Seneca mentions the hundredth year or more as the extreme of human life (*Brev. Vit.* 3. 2). The elder Pliny (*N. H.* VII. 162 ff.) actually mentions 102 persons of the age of 100 years or over as living in the eighth region of Italy (*Gallia cisalpina*) in the time of Vespasian's census, and of these the oldest had attained the maturity of 150 years; but the census returns must have been much exaggerated in these details. An interesting tabulation of the age at death as indicated in 28,665 sepulchral inscriptions in the *C.I.L.* is given by A. G. Harkness in the *Trans. of the Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XXVII. pp. 51 ff., but the conclusions therefrom are uncertain. (The three highest ages mentioned are in vol. VIII.—inscriptions of Africa—being 155, 160, and 170 years respectively; and it is interesting to notice that as in a modern census the ages tend to group themselves decidedly at the multiples of five; cf. E. T. Merrill in *Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XXXI. (1900) p. xx.) Ulpian (*Dig.* XXXV. 2. 68), in discussing certain usufructs, gives the legal expectation of life for those between 55 and 60 years of age as seven years: for all above this age as five years. Modern English life-tables gives the

expectation of life at 60 years as from 13 to 14 years, at 70 years as from 8 to 9 years (Newsholme *Vital Statistics*[3] p. 299). But comparative statements like these for different centuries and countries are notoriously useless, owing to complexities introduced by migration and other elements.

decessit superstitibus suis : the primal regard among the Romans for the preservation of the family, with its rites, led to their viewing with especial horror any reversal in the natural order of death : cf. III. 7. 2 (Sel. 30) *usque ad supremum diem beatus et felix, nisi quod minorem ex liberis duobus amisit, sed maiorem . . florentem . . reliquit*, and Mayor's note thereupon, and upon Iuu. 10. 241 *funera natorum* ; also Tac. *Agr.* 44 ; Shaks. *Rom. and Jul.* v. 3. 214 f. *O thou untaught, what manners is in this, | To press before thy father to a grave!* Tiberius was doubtless held to be most savagely unnatural because (Suet. *Tib.* 62) *identidem felicem Priamum uocabat, quod superstes omnium suorum extitisset.*

florente re publica : *sc.* under the beneficent reign of Nerva, or possibly of Trajan (cf. introd. n.).

quae, etc.: cf. Seru. ap. Cic. *Fam.* IV. 5. 2 *quae hominibus non minus quam liberi cara esse debent, patriam honestatem dignitatem honores omnes.*

12. tanquam et iuuenis et fortissimi : cf. (of Corellius) IV. 17. 6 *quasi iuuenis et ualidus.*

fortissimi, *in full vigour* : cf. IV. 1. 7 *fortes* ; VI. 4. 3 (Sel. 42) *fortem* ; VII. 23. 1 ; etc.

morte doleo, doleo autem meo nomine : with the chiastic repetition of the verb cf. *e.g.* V. 14. 5 (Sel. 38) *collega in praefectura aerarii fuit, fuit et in consulatu* ; VIII. 8. 6 (Sel. 57) *balineum Hispellates publice praebent, praebent et hospitium* ; VIII. 18. 7 *omnibus adfinitatibus gratia relata est, relata et uxori.*

amisi enim, amisi : with the mournful iteration cf. V. 16. 9 (Sel. 39) *quid amiserit. amisit enim.*

testem, rectorem, magistrum, *supporter, guide, ruler* ; cf. (of Corellius) IV. 17. 6 *ille meus in petendis honoribus suffragator et testis, . . ille in gerendis consiliator et rector.*

in summa : in classical Latin more frequently *ad summam* ; but cf. I. 14. 6 ; 15. 4 (Sel. 10) ; II. 11. 25 (Sel. 17) ; VI. 21. 7 ; VIII. 4. 8 (Sel. 56).

Caluisio : cf. introd. note to II. 20 (Sel. 22).

13. sponte : cf. § 1 n. *sponte.*

9. (I. 13.)

On the decay of public interest in recitations.—Q. Sosius Senecio, to whom Pliny addresses this letter and IV. 4 (asking a tribuneship for a friend), was *consul ordinarius* in 99 A.D., and again in 107. The provincial governorship referred to in IV. 4 would naturally fall between the two consulships, and a few years after the first. Plutarch dedicated to Senecio his 'Lives,' and some of his other works; and the especial regard of Trajan for Senecio is indicated not only by the two eponymous consulships, but by the fact mentioned of the emperor by Dio (LXVIII. 16), *ἔστησε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σοσσίου τοῦ τε Πάλμου καὶ τοῦ Κέλσου εἰκόνας· οὕτω που αὐτοὺς τῶν ἄλλων προετίμησεν.* An inscription (*C.I.L.* VIII. 7066, = Wilmanns 1194*a*, Dessau 1105) shows him to have been the son-in-law of the distinguished S. Iulius Frontinus and father-in-law of Q. Pompeius Falco (cf. introd. note to I. 23,—Sel. 14).

1. prouentum, *crop*: cf. VIII. 19. 2 *ut ex studiis gaudium, sic studia hilaritate prouentus*; Quint. XII. 10. 11 *tum deinde efflorescat oratorum ingens prouentus*; Iust. XIII. 1. 12 *neque enim unquam antea Macedonia tam clarorum uirorum prouentu floruit*: Aeschin. *Tim.* 87. 16 *φορὰ ῥητόρων.*

Aprili: the month was probably a favourite one because of the agreeable character of the weather. Moreover there were few business days in that month, the *ludi Megalenses*, *Ceriales*, and *Florales* falling within its limits. In VIII. 21. 2, however, Pliny speaks of choosing July for one of his own recitations, *quo maxime lites interquiescunt*; while Juvenal (3. 9) reckons among the especial dangers of city-life the exposure to *Augusto recitantes mense poetas.*

recitaret: the practice of reciting publicly the literary compositions of others goes back in Greek lands to the time of the rhapsodists. Herodotus is said to have read his own history to public audiences, and from that time on the custom spread in Greece and Greek countries. The first public readings in Rome were like those of the earlier humanists in Italy, readings of, with comments upon, the classics of the past. Asinius Pollio is said by the elder Seneca to have been the first of the Romans to read his own writings before an audience of invited guests (*Contr.* IV. *proem.* 2). The practice immediately became common and so continued, under the unusual stimulus given to literary and rhetorical studies by the closing of the formerly free avenues to political distinction. The lack of easy means of publication doubtless contributed somewhat to the same result. In V. 3. 8-11 (Sel. 36) Pliny gives his reasons for reading his works to audiences of friends (cf. also V. 12. 1),

and in VII. 17 defends the practice further; and references to such readings by himself and by others, and of widely different sorts of literature, abound in his writings (cf. especially II. 19; VIII. 21). On the general subject cf. Friedländer *Sittengeschichte*[6] III. pp. 419 ff.; and the material collected by Mayor in his commentary on Iuu. 3. 9.

studia, *letters*.

pigre coitur: but Pliny is able to congratulate himself that people come to his recitations with alacrity (III. 18. 4), and sometimes listen for two days, and beg for more (*ibid.*; IV. 5. 2; VIII. 21. 4).

2. stationibus, *lounging-places*: cf. II. 9. 5 *itaque prenso amicos, supplico, ambio, domos stationesque circumeo*; Iuu. 11. 3, 4 *omnis | conuictus, thermae, stationes, omne theatrum*. The magnificent porticoes, and, later than Pliny's time for the most part, the great bathing establishments, furnished the favourite *stationes*. There too one might consult lawyers: Gell. XIII. 13. 1 *in plerisque Romae stationibus ius publice docentium aut respondentium*. Cf. also, of a lazy life, Mart. V. 20. 8 ff. *sed gestatio, fabulae, libelli, | campus, porticus, umbra, Virgo, thermae, | haec essent loca semper, hi labores*.

praefationem, *introduction*: differing from *exordium* as being no part of the book or speech proper (cf. **dixerit**, not *recitauerit*). It was spoken while the reader was yet seated, even when he delivered his speech standing; cf. II. 3. 1 f. *sermo Graecus, immo Atticus: praefationes tersae, graciles, dulces, graues interdum et erectae. poscit controuersias plures, electionem auditoribus permittit,—saepe etiam partes,—surgit, amicitur, incipit*; Sen. *Contr.* III. *proem.* 11 *Silo Pompeius sedens et facundus et litteratus est, et haberetur disertus si a praelocutione* [=*praefatione*] *dimitteret: declamat tam male ut uidear belle optasse cum dixi, 'nunquam surgas'!* But Pliny certainly argues in II. 19 as if speeches were recited, or read, while seated: perhaps the custom of the Roman of rank differed from that of the professed rhetorician. Other forms of composition naturally might be read while seated; cf. Pers. 1. 17 *sede lege celsa*. The *praefatio* was the traditional place for conciliatory excuses: cf. IV. 11. 2 (Sel. 32); IV. 14. 8; VIII. 21. 3 *forte accidit ut eodem die mane in aduocationem subitam rogarer, quod mihi causam praeloquendi dedit. sum enim deprecatus ne quis ut irreuerentem operis argueret, quod recitaturus, etc.*: Mart. III. 18 *perfrixisse tuas questa est praefatio fauces. | cum te excusaris, Maxime, quid recitas?*

euoluerit, *unrolled*, and hence *finished*: for the *liber* was a roll of *papyrus* wound upon a rod (*umbilicus*), unrolled with

the one hand and rolled up in the other as the reader proceeded : cf. Sen. *Suas.* VI. 27 *si hic desiero, scio futurum ut uos illo loco desinatis legere quo ego a scholasticis recessi ; ergo ut librum uelitis usque ad umbilicum reuoluere, adiciam suasoriam proximae similem.*

alii dissimulanter, etc., *some slyly and stealthily, others openly and boldly.*

s. hercule : this, with *me hercule*, is a favourite expletive of Pliny's, occurring fifteen times in the letters.

Claudium Caesarem : according to Suetonius (*Claud.* 41) Claudius not only was himself an author, but gave readings from his works before assuming the principate, and after that time employed one of his slaves to act for him vicariously in the same matter, as indeed Pliny at one time thought of doing (cf. IX. 34. 1). Pliny might have found a nobler example of an imperial auditor in Augustus (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 89 *recitantis et benigne et patienter audiit, nec tantum carmina et historias, sed et orationes et dialogos* ; Suet. *Tib.* 61 ; and on the recitation by Vergil of his Aeneid before the emperor Seru. on *Aen.* IV. 323 ; VI. 861), but the point here is on the condescension of the uninvited guest. The Romans had already learned with great zeal their lesson of the divinity that doth hedge a king.

Palatio : Claudius lived in the *domus Tiberiana* on the west side of the Palatine ; but **Palatio** must not be taken here in its very late meaning of 'the palace.' In inscriptions the imperial residence on the Palatine is always *domus Palatina, Augustana, Tiberiana.* On the north-eastern part of the hill Augustus had built a temple of Apollo, with Latin and Greek libraries, and porticoes adjoining (Suet. *Aug.* 29), and this was a favourite place for recitations as for study ; cf. the *Comm. Cruq.* on Hor. *Sat.* I. 10. 38 *Tarpa fuit iudex criticus, auditor assiduus poematum et poetarum in aede Apollinis seu Musarum, quo conuenire poetae solebant suaque scripta recitare.*

clamorem : the sincerity and effectiveness of applause was judged to stand in a relation of direct ratio with its noise. And even Pliny, who on occasion declares (II. 10. 7) an attentive and eager silence to be as complimentary as shouting, is at another time (VI. 17) highly disgusted with the superciliousness of auditors who sit quietly in their places. But the philosopher Musonius (cf. III. 11. 5, 7,—Sel. 26) spoke on the subject with no uncertain voice (ap. Gell. V. 1).—Cf. II. 14. nn. (Sel. 20) on applause in the court-room.

Nonianum: M. Seruilius Nonianus was consul in 35 A.D., and died in 59: cf. Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 19 *Seruilius diu foro, mox tradendis rebus Romanis celebris et elegantia uitae*; Quint. X. 1. 102 [*Seru. Non.*] *qui et ipse a nobis auditus est, clari uir ingenii et sententiis creber, sed minus pressus quam historiae auctoritas postulat*; Tac. *Dial.* 23. The elder Pliny (XXXVII. 81) speaks of him as the grandson of that Nonius whom Antony put on the list of the proscribed on account of a jewel that he possessed, and great-grandson of the *struma* Nonius of Catullus 52. Valerius Probus (*Vit. Pers.*) says of Persius, *coluit ut patrem Seruilium Nonianum.*

4. quia non perdiderit: the mood shows that Pliny, with the excessive ingenuity of phrase to which he sometimes inclines, twists the unreasonable reason actually given by the auditor into this oxymoric form.

6. ex causis: cf. I. 2. 6 (Sel. 2) n. *ex causis.*

10. (I. 15.)

The fury of a host scorned.—On the person addressed see introd. note to I. 1 (Sel. 1).

1. heus tu, *see here, you!*: the pronoun is perhaps vocative, even here in close conjunction with the verb: cf. IX. 12. 1 *heus tu, nunquamne fecisti quod a patre corripi posset?* and the frequent union by the comedians of *tu* with *heus* in a single exclamation.

promittis ad cenam: sc. *te uenturum.* The ellipsis seems to be a colloquialism in this expression: cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 596 *ad cenam hercle alio promisi foras*; Petr. 10 *ad cenam promisimus*; Phaedr. IV. 25. 15 *ad cenam mihi promitte*; and the modification in Plaut. *Stich.* 483 *tu ad me non uis promittere*; Cic. *De Or.* II. 27 *ad fratrem promiserat.*

dicitur ius, *the court is in session*: cf. *e.g.* Cic. *Fam.* XIII. 14 *ea res* [*sc.* a suit for payment of a debt] *a Volcatio, qui Romae ius dicit, reiecta in Galliam est.*

ad assem, *to the uttermost farthing*: cf. Hor. *Ep.* II. 2. 26 f. *Luculli miles uiatica ad assem perliderat*; and the well-known proverbial use of *as* for the most insignificant value.

impendium reddes: Pliny humorously threatens his friend with action to recover damages (perhaps under the Lex Aquilia; cf. *Dig.* IX. 2. 27. 5) for the spoiling of the uneaten dinner. Any loss inflicted upon a person by the maliciousness (*dolo*) or gross carelessness (*culpa lata*) of another rendered the culprit responsible to the full extent of the injury done: cf. *Dig.* L. 16. 193, etc.

nec id modicum: the offended host solemnly details as if most luxurious the extreme simplicity of his vegetarian diet and old-fashioned entertainment, as against the modern delights of palate and eye which the peccant guest had the bad taste and poor judgment (so he implies) to prefer. The usual Roman dinner began with various *hors-d'oeuvres* (called *gustus*, *gustatio*, or *promulsis*), which were followed by one or more courses (*fercula*, *missus*) of some sort, and those by *secundae mensae* (the dessert) of pastry, nuts, and fresh or preserved fruits. Pliny's enumeration begins in normal order with *hors-d'oeuvres*, washed down by *mulsum*, and proceeds to the regular *fercula*; but how many of these courses there were, he does not attempt to say, contenting himself with *alia mille*.

2. lactucae: the Romans of the imperial period recognized several varieties of lettuce, and spoke of it as good to induce sleep, and especially serviceable among the *hors-d'oeuvres* as an appetizer: cf. Plin. *N.H.* XIX. 127 *stomacho fastidium auferunt* [*lactucae*] *cibique appetentiam faciunt*. At an earlier period it had been the fashion to serve it later in the meal as a salad: cf. Verg. *Mor.* 74 *grataque nobilium requies lactuca ciborum*; Mart. XIII. 14 *cludere quae cenas lactuca solebat auorum, | dic mihi, cur nostras incohat illa dapes?*

singulae: the numerals are doubtless meant to give the effect of precision in the reckoning of damages, and only incidentally of frugality in the supplies.

cochleae: snails belonged also in the *promulsis*; cf. Mart. XI. 1. 53 *cum pinguis mihi turtur erit, lactuca, ualebis: | et cochleas tibi habe. perdere nolo famem.* Celsus (II. 24) mentions them, with lettuce, among the articles of diet *quae stomacho aptissima sunt*. Varro (*R.R.* III. 14) describes the different varieties, and the manner of raising them. They are still an article of diet in Italy.

oua: eggs were so commonly eaten among the *hors-d'oeuvres* as to give rise to proverbial expressions; cf. Hor. *Sat.* I. 3. 6 *ab ouo usque ad mala* (*i.e.* from beginning to end of the meal); Cic. *Fam.* IX. 20. 1 *integram famem ad ouum adfero, itaque usque ad asnum uitulinum opera perducitur*. The eggs thus served were apparently 'soft-boiled': cf. Petr. 33 *Trimalchio ait, 'pauonis oua gallinae iussi supponi. et mehercules timeo ne iam concepti sint; temptemus tamen si adhuc sorbilia sint.'*

halica (Grk. ἅλιξ, or, earlier and more properly, χόνδρος): wheat, barley, or, more frequently in Italy, spelt (*triticum spelta*), hulled and crushed, like oatmeal or cracked-

wheat, and cooked variously to be used as food ; then, a demulcent drink, prepared from the same, like barley-water. The spelling without the initial aspirate (against the best MSS. of a number of authors) rests on the authority of the Greek derivative, of a play on the word in Mart. XII. 81. 3, and of a direct statement of Verrius Flaccus quoted by Charisius p. 75, *alicam sine adspiratione dictam Verrius tradit, et sic multi dixerunt* (cf. also Festus 7). Yet it is a question whether the lexicographers were not influenced simply by their false derivation from *alere*.

mulso: wine straight from the press, mixed with a certain proportion of honey, and sealed up at once in jars: cf. the receipt in Colum. XII. 41. It was served regularly after, or with, the *hors-d'oeuvres* (hence *promulsis*). The custom of mixing *mulsum* with *halica* seems to be indicated by Mart. XIII. 6 *nos alicam, poterit mulsum tibi mittere diues*.

niue: the use of artifically preserved ice and snow (especially of the latter) to cool wine is apparently a refinement introduced in the first century. Pliny the Elder waxes unusually eloquent in condemning the practice as a mark of degeneration; cf. *N.H.* XIX. 54 f. *heu prodigia uentris! . . . aquae quoque separantur, et ipsa naturae elementa ui pecuniae discreta sunt. hi niues, illi glaciem potant, poenasque montium in uoluptatem gulae uertunt*, etc. Seneca follows suit in *Nat. Qu.* IV. 13; *Ep.* 119. 3. Cf. also Iuu. 5. 49 ff. The custom is not infrequently mentioned elsewhere, and has survived till the present day. Addison, in his *Remarks on Italy* comments at some length on the universal use of snow in Naples to cool drinks, remarking, 'There is a great Quantity of it consum'd yearly . . . insomuch that a Scarcity of Snow would raise a Mutiny at *Naples*, as much as a Dearth of Corn or Provisions in another Country.'

ferculo = *repositorio*, the 'tray' upon which each course was brought to the table: cf. Petr. *Cena Trim.* passim.

oliuae: olives were served among the *hors-d'oeuvres*, and also in the regular course, which Pliny apparently begins to recount with this dish: cf. Mart. XIII. 36 *haec quae Picenis uenit subducta trapetis, | incohat atque eadem finit oliua dapes*.

betacei: Martial (III. 47. 9) mentions beets as *pigro uentri non inutiles*, but yet calls them (XIII. 13. 1) *fabrorum prandia*.

cucurbitae: the elder Pliny (*N.H.* XIX. 71 ff.) describes the various uses of the gourd, and characterizes it in its green

state as *in cibis saluber ac lenis*. Like the cucumber (*cucumis*) it was sometimes preserved green in brine or under ground from one season to another (*ibid.*).

bulbi: the bulbous roots of a certain plant of which a number of varieties were recognized by the ancients. Pliny the Elder (XIX. 93 ff.) mentions bulbi in close connection with onions (*cepae*) and garlic (*alium*), but as distinct from them.

mille: of indefinite multitude, as more especially in Livy and the Augustan poets; cf. also I. 20. 10 (Sel. 13); III. 1. 11 (Sel. 23); IV. 7. 2 (Sel. 31); V. 9. 4 *his uerbis ac mille praeterea*; IX. 26. 9 *et mille talia*. Pliny does not use the classical *sescenti* and *trecenti* in this sense.

comoedum: a slave especially trained to read or recite scenes from well-known comedies: cf. IX. 17. 3 (of entertainment at a dinner) *cum lector aut lyristes aut comoedus inductus est*; and further of Pliny's own custom IX. 36. 4 (Sel. 70) *cenanti mihi, si cum uxore uel paucis, liber legitur*; *post cenam comoedus aut lyristes*; IX. 40. 2 (Sel. 72) *non iam comoedo aut lyristae post cenam locus*. So of Spurinna's habit in III. 1. 9 (Sel. 23) *frequenter comoedis cena distinguitur*: and one of Pliny's slaves is especially said (V. 19. 3,—Sel. 40) to be accomplished as *comoedus, lector*, and *citharista* (between which and *lyristes* Pliny probably made no distinction). Such a union of accomplishments in one slave was exceedingly unusual, in a time when there was the most minute subdivision of slave-labour. The custom of such dramatic readings at dinners is often mentioned by other writers, especially of this period.

lectorem: the readings at dinner might be from Homer, Hesiod, the Greek lyric poets, or even from writers of other sorts of literature, Greek or Latin (cf. V. 19. 3,—Sel. 40). Varro (ap. Gell. XIII. 11. 5) mentions the custom as if an established one, saying, *in conuiuio legi non omnia debent, sed ea potissimum quae simul sint βωφελῆ et delectent*; Nepos says of Atticus (*Att.* 14. 1), *neque unquam sine aliqua lectione apud eum cenatum est*; and such readings continued to be perhaps the favourite *acroama* of the Romans.

lyristen: anciently the Romans had flute-players at their banquets (Quint. I. 10. 20), and with the growing refinement of taste and the introduction of Eastern luxury (Liv. XXXIX. 6) came in music of a better sort, chiefly produced upon the various sorts of lyres. Usually players were trained as soloists, but orchestral performers at dinner (*symphoniaci*) are mentioned as early as Cicero's time; cf. Cic. *Mil.* 55; *Verr.*

v. 64; and the amusing story told by Macrobius (II. 4. 28) about Augustus and the dinner-orchestra of Toronius Flaccus. Petronius represents many of the elaborate operations of Trimalchio's famous dinner as carried on to the accompaniment of music.

3. ostrea: oysters were held to be the first of table-dainties (Plin. *N.H.* XXXII. 59 *palma mensarum diu iam tribuatur illis*), and had been a luxury in Rome since at least the time of Lucilius (cf. *e.g.* Lucil. XIII. ap. Non. 216 *hoc fit idem in cena; dabis ostrea milibus nummum empta*). There were a number of recognized varieties, coming from places ranging between Cyzicus and Richborough (Plin. *N.H.* XXXII. 62 f.; Iuu. 4. 141); but those from the Lucrine lake had the best reputation; cf. Plin. *N.H.* IX. 168 *ostrearum uiuaria primus omnium Sergius Orata inuenit in Baiano, aetate L. Crassi oratoris, ante Marsicum bellum* [90-88 B.C.] . . . *is primus optimum saporem ostreis Lucrinis adiudicauit*; et mult. al.

uuluas: the *matrices* of sows were one of the most prized delicacies in Rome from early times (cf. Hor. *Ep.* I. 15. 41 *obeso nil melius turdo, nil uulua pulchrius ampla*), and in the Edict of Diocletian (4. 4) they are the highest priced meat. Indeed, pork in general enjoyed a reputation above that among either Jews or Christians of later days: cf. Plin. *N.H.* VIII. 209 *neque alio ex animali numerosior materia ganeae; quinquaginta prope sapores, cum ceteris singuli.*

echinos: both Juvenal and Horace join sea-urchins with oysters as a delicacy; cf. Iuu. 4. 143; Hor. *Sat.* II. 4. 33.

Gaditanas: the Romans imported for their amusement at banquets female dancers both from the East (cf. Verg. *Cop.* 1) and from the West,—especially from Gades. But these dances were apparently, like some others that have had the same origin in more modern days, of an influence anything but moral. Both Juvenal and Martial condemn them in unmeasured terms, and both Juvenal and Martial characterize in part by the absence of Spanish dancers the frugality and propriety of the dinner to which they invite friends, Martial promising instead the old-fashioned music of the slender flute, and Juvenal readings from Homer and eloquent Maro (Iuu. 11. 162 ff.; Mart. v. 78. 26 ff.).

dabis poenas: repeating the threat made above, *impendium reddes.*

non dico quas: waiving the immediate specification of the precise amount, that the uncertainty may increase the terror of the culprit.

inuidisti, *you have acted grudgingly.*

nescio an: not in the sense of 'probably,' as often in Cicero, but simply of 'perhaps,' leaving the question entirely open. Invariably in Pliny the phrase is used either with this neutral force, or almost with an inclination toward negation, as *e.g.* in III. 1. 1 (Sel. 23), VII. 19. 4 (Sel. 50).

sed tamen, *yes*: spoken in correction of his own hesitation in expression.

lusissemus, *jested*: cf. I. 11. 1 *ludere me putas? serio peto.*

studuissemus, *learned*: with reference to the literary entertainment provided. Pliny could not allow himself to think of being simply jolly for an entire evening.—Triple asyndeton of single words occurs toward 150 times in Pliny's extant works,—about 100 times in the letters alone. On double asyndeta of single words see I. 3. 1 (Sel. 3) n. *subiectus seruiens.*

4. apparatius, *more elaborately*: cf. Hor. *Carm.* I. 38. 1 *Persicos odi, puer, apparatus.*

hilarius, etc., *with more jollity, frankness, abandon*: under Domitian and his spy-system such absence of reserve would have been impossible.

in summa: cf. I. 12. 12 (Sel. 8) n. *in summa.*

experire, *try it once.*

11. (I. 16.)

The praises of Saturninus.—It is impossible to determine whether this letter was written to the Erucius Clarus mentioned in II. 9. 4 as an upright man, and an eloquent, skilful, and faithful advocate, or to his son, Sex. Erucius Clarus, in whose candidacy for the tribuneship Pliny in the same letter declares his absorbing interest. The latter is more likely. Sextus was the maternal nephew of C. Septicius Clarus, on whom see introd. note to I. 1 (Sel. 1). His subsequent career seems to have justified Pliny's high opinion of him. The date of his first consulship is unknown; but in his old age he was honoured with a second consulship (*cos. ord.* 146 A.D.; cf. Gell. XIII. 18. 2; Spart. *Sev.* 1. 3). He had also served as *praefectus urbi* (Gell. *l.c.*; VII. 6. 12), and when legate of Trajan in the Parthian war had captured Seleucia (Dio. Cass. LXVIII. 30. 2).

1. Pompeium Saturninum: unknown, except from Pliny's letters, who addresses to him I. 8, in answer to a request for

some composition of his own, and to a Saturninus four other brief letters (v. 21, vii. 7, 15, ix. 38), from which nothing can be deduced concerning the person addressed except what is also told in this letter,—that he was both a lawyer and a man of letters, and a friend of some of Pliny's friends.

hunc dico nostrum, *I mean that friend of ours*: the complexity of Roman nomenclature at this period makes it quite possible that there were other men bearing this same *nomen* and *cognomen*.

tenet, habet, possidet: Florentinus in the *Dig.* XLVI. 4. 18 gives these three words together in quoting from Gallus Aquilius a formula of stipulation (*quodue tu meum habes, tenes, possides*), and Papinian (*Dig.* XLI. 2. 49) points out the legal distinction between *tenere* and the two other words, while Fronto (*De Diff.* 2196) defines the difference between *habere* and *possidere*. But though the idea of complete and absolute possession is conveyed by them, considerations of rhetoric rather than of law doubtless suggested to Pliny the use of this triplet as of others.

2. siue meditata, etc., *whether he was speaking with previous preparation or extemporaneously*: cf. II. 3. 2 (of the impromptu speaking of the rhetorician Isaeus) *multa lectio in subitis, multa scriptio elucet.*

proferret: apparently an instance of the imperfect subjunctive in the third person in protasis (cf. the classical use of the present subjunctive in the second person with the same sense) to express an oft recurring fact. The construction occurs in isolated instances in Catullus and Caesar, but becomes more frequent in the Silver Age.

adsunt aptae crebraeque sententiae, *his speech is marked by many happy aphorisms* (Grk. γνῶμαι): the Auct. *ad Heren.* (IV. 24) defines *sententia* thus: *sententia est oratio sumpta de uita, quae aut quid sit aut quid oporteat esse in uita breuiter ostendit*; but gives a warning about its too frequent use in speeches; IV. 25 *sententias interponi raro conuenit, ut rei actores, non uiuendi praeceptores uideamur esse.* Cicero represents Crassus as praising the effect of *sententiae*; *De Or.* I. 31 *quid enim est tam iucundum cognitu atque auditu quam sapientibus sententiis grauibusque uerbis ornata oratio et polita?* and Antonius as not objecting to their frequency; *De Or.* II. 34 *quid autem subtilius quam crebrae acutaeque sententiae?* Quintilian in more than one place speaks of the use of *sententiae* as an increasingly popular rhetorical device in his own day (cf. *e.g.* I. 8. 9 *in plerisque nouorum, qui omnium operum solam uirtutem sententias putauerunt*), and after arguing the

matter concludes (VIII. 5. 34), *si necesse sit, veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim quam istam nouam licentiam; sed patet media quaedam uia.* Pliny quotes a *sententia* of Licinianus in IV. 11. 2 (Sel. 32).

grauis et decora constructio, *a stately and harmonious sentence-structure*: cf. V. 8. 10 *alia uerba, alius sonus, alia constructio*; Cic. *De Or.* I. 17 *ipsa oratio conformanda non solum electione sed etiam constructione uerborum.* Quintilian calls the quality *compositio*, and discusses it in *Inst. Or.* IX. 4.

sonantia uerba et antiqua, *words sonorous with antiquity.*

4. contionibus: the speeches put by the historian into the mouths of his characters, like that of Pericles over the dead at Marathon in Thucydides, and those of Calgacus and Agricola in the *Agricola* of Tacitus.

suis: not that the historian was not the composer of the *contiones* as much as of the rest of his work, but to mark the distinction between his real speeches in active life and those that he in his writings professedly reports from the lips of others.

pressior et circumscriptior et adductior, *more condensed and limited and confined.*

5. Catullus aut Caluus: these two lyric poets and intimate friends of the Ciceronian age are joined together in mention by more than one writer: cf. IV. 27. 4 ff. *canto carmina uersibus minutis,| his olim quibus et meus Catullus | et Caluus uteresque*; Hor. *Sat.* I. 10. 18 f. *simius iste | nil praeter Caluum et doctus cantare Catullum*; Ov. *Am.* III. 9. 61 f. *obuius huic uenias, hederа iuuenilia cinctus | tempora, cum Caluo, docte Catulle, tuo*; Prop. III. 25. 4; 34. 87 ff.; *et al.*—On Calvus as an orator cf. I. 2. 2 n. (Sel. 2).

amaritudinis, *sting*: *sc.* in epigrams. Pliny joins *amaritudo* with *vis* in IV. 20. 3 (*ingenio uim et amaritudinem dolor addidit*); with *uis* and *instantia* as proper qualities of history in V. 8. 10; and in VI. 21. 5 characterizes a writer of Old Comedy thus: *non illi uis, non granditas, non subtilitas, non amaritudo, non dulcedo, non lepos defuit.* Cf. also his characterization of Martial's epigrams in III. 21. 1 (Sel. 29). Quintilian refers to the same quality in X. 1. 96 *cuius acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, Horatio . . . reperietur.*

mollibus lēuibusque, *suave and smooth*: so Cicero (*Or.* 20) speaks of a style of speech that is not *asper* but *lēuis*; cf. also Lucr. V. 1378 *lēuia carmina*; Quint. VIII. 3. 40 *dicere aspere an lēuiter* (edd. *leniter*); *et al.*

duriusculos, *a trifle more rugged*: such colloquial formations of diminutives on the stem of the comparative occur in the comedians, in Cicero's letters, and in the writers of the silver and later ages; cf. *meliusculus, putidiusculus, nitidiusculus, longiusculus* (even in Cic. *Arch.*). The elder Pliny uses *duriusculus* of Catullus in *N.H.* pr. 1.

quasi Catullus: Pliny may have in mind such abominations of awkward elision as Cat. 22. 4 *puto esse ego illi milia aut decem aut plura*, or 73. 6 *quam modo qui me unum atque unicum amicum habuit*: but perhaps it is simply the colloquial verbiage of Catullus that seems to Pliny to give a frequent tone of rudeness to his verse. Or it may be the departure from regularity in metrical substitutions in the hendecasyllables that Pliny has in mind. At any rate, he apparently judges that these ruder verses were purposely inserted here and there to prevent the whole from seeming too nicely studied and artificial; cf. Hor. *A.P.* 26 f. *sectantem leuia nerui | deficiunt animique.*

6. esse: with ellipsis of the accusative, as not infrequently in Pliny.

Plautum uel Terentium: the high excellence attributed to their writings as norms of language is sufficiently attested by such passages as Quint. x. 1. 99 *licet Varro Musas, Aelii Stilonis sententia, Plautino dicat sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui uellent*; Caes. ap. Suet. *Vit. Ter., tu quoque, tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander, | poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator.*—Pliny remarks in VII. 9. 8 (Sel. 49) *pressus sermo purusque ex epistulis petitur.* Cf. also Cic. *De Or.* III. 45 *equidem cum audio socrum meam Laeliam—facilius enim mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conseruant, quod multorum sermonis expertes ea tenent semper quae prima didicerunt—sed eam sic audio ut Plautum mihi aut Naeuium uidear audire.*

aut uxorem, etc.: for such excellence, Pliny assumes, can be the result only of long training and practice; and since Roman maidens ordinarily married young, and did not attend the school of the *rhetor*, the talent shown in these letters must have been acquired since the writer's marriage, and under the tuition of her husband. And since she had had no other husband than Saturninus (*quam uirginem accepit*), to him must belong the credit. Pliny here, as always, ascribes everything to schooling and nothing to native genius: cf. I. 9. 8 (Sel. 6) n. *eruditissime.*

quam uirginem accepit: with the phraseology cf. VIII. 23. 7 *uxor quam ante annum uirginem acceperat.*

7. eundem lego: the author is identified with his work, as in II. 14. 2 (Sel. 20) *ab Homero*, and not uncommonly, especially of famous writers.

cum remittor, *when I am taking my ease*: cf. IX. 3. 2 *illos contendere eniti, hos quiescere remitti*; VII. 9. 9 (Sel. 49) *fas est et carmine remitti*.

non tanquam eundem: *i.e.* always finding new beauties in him.

8. neque enim, etc.: the complaint about the popular preference for what one can no longer have is itself old; cf. *e.g.* Soph. *Ai.* 961 ff.; Plaut. *Capt.* 142 f.; Hor. *Ep.* II. 1. 21 ff. [*populus,*] *nisi quae terris semota suisque | temporibus defuncta uidet, fastidit et odit*; *Carm.* III. 24. 31 f. *uirtutem incolumem odimus, | sublatam ex oculis quaerimus inuidi*; Tac. *Agr.* 1 *nostris temporibus incuriosa suorum aetas*; *Ann.* II. 88 *uetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi*; and Martial (VIII. 69) on the man who praised none but dead poets. Pliny protects himself in VI. 21. 1 by saying, *num ex iis qui mirantur antiquos; non tamen, ut quidam, temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio*. Cf. also I. 16. 8, 9 (Sel. 11); Mart. I. 1. 6; Ou. *Pont.* IV. 16. 3.

an: as frequently in argumentative language, even in early Latin, to introduce a single question that anticipates indignantly an opponent's argument; cf. I. 10. 9 (Sel. 7) *n. an.*

imagines, *portraits*: the fondness of both Greeks and Romans for portraiture is indicated by the number of portrait-statues and busts that have survived to our own times. Varro's collection of 700 portraits of illustrious Greeks and Romans, with epigrams and biographical notes (*Hebdomades*, or *De Imaginibus Libri* XV.; cf. *Gell.* III. 10. 1, 17; Plin. *N.H.* XXXV. 11) was a most famous thing in its day, and widely published. Atticus published a smaller collection of Roman worthies (cf. Plin. *l.c.*). It became the fashion to have the portraits of authors prefixed to their works, and to adorn libraries with their likenesses. Pliny himself (IV. 28) sends to upper Italy, to the birthplace of Cornelius Nepos and T. Catius, to secure good copies of portraits of these authors to beautify the library of a friend. (On the whole subject cf. Friedländer *Sittengesch.*[6] III. 237 ff.).

languescit: a good example of the interrogative use of the present indicative in impassioned argument to express an appeal under the guise of indignant incredulity.

9. prauum malignumque, *perverse and mean*.

uerum etiam: cf. I. 5. 17 (Sel. 4) *n. uerum etiam*.

12. (I. 18.)

The interpretation of dreams.—C. Suetonius Tranquillus, best known to us as the author of the *Lives of the Caesars*, was apparently just beginning a career at the bar when this letter was written (he was born not much before 75 A.D.). In a later letter Pliny mentions securing for him a military tribuneship which he finally asked to have transferred to a friend (III. 8.) Trajan granted him at Pliny's request the *ius trium liberorum* (X. 94, 95), and it has been supposed by some scholars, though unnecessarily, that Suetonius was a member of Pliny's staff in Bithynia at that time. In I. 24 Pliny urges a friend to secure for Suetonius at a good bargain a coveted estate near the city, and in IX. 34 asks the advice of Suetonius about having his *lector* read instead of the author at a public recitation. The volumes which he urges Suetonius in V. 10 to publish without further delay were probably not the eight books *de Caesarum uita*, which were not actually published until 120 A.D. Nor were they probably any of the other works of which fragments, or mention, have come down to us: for all of these apparently were written in the forty years of his life after his removal from the office of *epistularum magister* under Hadrian, at the same time, and for the same reason, that his friend Septicius Clarus lost his office of praetorian prefect (cf. introd. note to I. 1,—Sel. 1).

1. somnio: the almost universal belief in antiquity (and to a marked degree among modern nations) in the presage of dreams is well known. Many books were written by Greeks and Romans on their proper interpretation, of which the most elaborate and famous was that by Artemidorus of Daldis at the end of the second century A.D. Others, by Chrysippus and Antipater, are cited by Cicero in his argument against the prophetic character of dreams in *Div.* II. 119 ff. Even a scientific man like Galen governed his practice in accordance with the suggestions of dreams, and such a rationalist as the elder Pliny was not free from the same superstition (cf. *N.H.* X. 211 with XXV. 17). The belief of the emperor Augustus in the authority of dreams is familiar from Suet. *Aug.* 91. Pliny says (III. 5. 4,—Sel. 24) that his great uncle wrote his treatise on the German Wars in response to a dream; and he himself mentions (V. 5. 5 ff.,—Sel. 37) with apparent belief in its meaning the dream of Fannius, and is apparently sure of the reality of such dream-visions as those narrated in VII. 27 (Sel. 54). Cf. Friedländer *Sittengesch.*[6] III. pp. 567 ff., and Mayor's note on Pl. *Ep.* III. 5. 4.

petam: Pliny perhaps had some personal influence with

the official before whom the case was to be tried (see below); or else Suetonius trusts to the general reputation of Pliny as likely to make for the success of an application submitted through him.

pauculos dies excusem; *plead excuse for a few days*: with the construction cf. VIII. 12. 1 *hunc solum diem excuso* (Pliny desires to postpone an engagement).

καὶ γάρ, etc.: the remark of Achilles in Hom. *Il.* I. 63, when urging the employment of an interpreter of dreams, or of some other soothsayer, to determine the reason for Apollo's wrath and the proper way to propitiate him.

2. an: Pliny's more frequent usage is, as here, to omit the interrogative particle with the first member of a double question, whether direct or indirect.

contraria: for that 'dreams go by contraries' seems to have been as common a maxim in ancient dream-books as in modern ones; cf. *e.g.* Luc. *Phars.* VII. 21, 22 *siue per ambages solitas contraria uisis | uaticinata quies magni tulit omina planctus.*

3. Iuni Pastoris: otherwise unknown.

socrus mea: *sc.* Pompeia Celerina; see VI. 10. 1 (Sel. 44) n. *socrus meae.*

aduoluta genibus: *i.e.* in the traditional attitude of a suppliant, prostrating herself before and grasping the knees of the person addressed: cf. Plin. *N.H.* XI. 250 *hominis genibus quaedam et religio inest obseruatione gentium. haec supplices attingunt, ad haec manus tendunt, haec ut aras adorant, fortassis quia inest iis uitalitas.* But cf. Verg. *Aen.* III. 607 *dixerat, et genua amplexus genibusque uolutans haerebat*, whereon Servius, *physici dicunt esse consecratas numinibus singulas corporis partes, ut . . . genua Misericordiae, unde haec tangunt rogantes.* Cf. furthermore, of the extreme of entreaty, IX. 21. 1 (Sel. 66) *aduolutus pedibus meis haesit.*

adulescentulus adhuc: the date is undeterminable. But as Pliny was born after Aug. 24, 61, and before Aug. 24, 62 (see Introd. p. xv), and made his first appearance at the bar in his nineteenth year (V. 8. 8), this début may have taken place as early as the end of the year 79, or as late as the first half of 81; and the plea for Iunius Pastor was probably not delivered very soon after that occasion (see notes below). According to Varro (ap. Cens. *Die Nat.* 14. 2) a man might be called *adulescens* from his sixteenth to his thirtieth year, and Pliny's diminutive can hardly mean

more than that he was then in the early years of his now long established legal practice.

in quadruplici iudicio: cf. I. 5. 4 (Sel. 4) n. *centumuiros*.

contra Caesaris amicos: the hesitation on this account might fit better a date in Domitian's reign than in that of Titus (see note above).

4. λογισάμενος: the reason for the choice of a Greek word is not clear, for it forms no part of the quotation, and Pliny was not addicted to Greek tags in his letters, as was Cicero.

εἰς, etc.: the words of Hector (*Il.* XII. 243) when Polydamas would have the attack on the Greek camp discontinued because of a bad omen. Cf. the utterance of Q. Fabius Maximus as augur (Cic. *Sen.* 11), *optimis auspiciis ea geri quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur*. The Homeric apothegm is quoted in Cic. *Att.* II. 3. 3, and elsewhere.

fides: *sc.* toward his client.

ianuam famae patefecit: although Pliny was yet *adulescentulus* (*v. s.*), there is no reason to suppose from this phrase that this was his first case. If it were so, he would doubtless have specified the fact plainly; and moreover, a case *in quadruplici iudicio* was hardly one to be entrusted to a perfectly inexperienced barrister.

5. an: as not infrequently from about the middle of the first century A.D. to introduce a single indirect question without implication of an alternative.

sub hoc exemplo, *acting on this precedent*: *i.e.* that dreams often go by contraries.

in bonum uertas, *may change to good*: *i.e.* prove in your own case the inversion of the omen.

quod dubites ne feceris: doubtless a bit of popular wisdom, though smacking strongly of the Stoic commonplace: cf. Cic. *Off.* I. 30 *bene praecipiunt qui uetant quicquam agere quod dubites aequum sit an iniquum*.

6. stropham, *erasion*: the metaphor is apparently from the twisting and twining by which a wrestler eludes his adversary; cf. Plat. *Rep.* 405c δεινὸς ὢν περὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖν καὶ ἱκανὸς πάσας στροφὰς στρέφεσθαι; Sen. *Ep.* 26. 5 *ad illum diem quo remotis strophis ac fucis de me iudicaturus sum*.

ratio, *circumstances*.

13. (I. 20.)

The proper length of a plea.—On Cornelius Tacitus, to whom the letter is addressed, see the introductory note to I 6 (Sel. 5).

1. aeque ... ut occurs only here in Pliny, but is found both in Plautus (? with *quasi*, *Asin.* 838) and in Horace (*Carm.* I. 16. 7). Elsewhere Pliny uses either *aeque ... quam* or the more classical *aeque ... ac*: cf. Krebs-Schmalz *Antibarbarus*[6], p. 106.

2. praeuaricatio: the figure is from straddling, and the legal crime consisted strictly in a prosecutor betraying his case by collusion with the defence. Later on the term was loosely extended to include a similar act by the counsel for the defendant: cf. Dig. XLVIII. 16. 1. 6 *praeuaricatorem eum esse ostendimus qui colludit cum reo, et translaticie munere accusandi defungitur, eo quod proprias quidem probationes dissimularet, falsas uero rei excusationes admitteret*; Isid. *Orig.* X. 223 *praeuaricator, malae fidei aduocatus, et qui uel in accusando nocitura, uel in defendendo profutura praetereat, aut inutiliter dubieque ponat, mercedis gratia, scilicet corruptus.*

inculcanda, etc., *hammered in, driven home, clenched.*

ictu, *velocity*; **mora**, *inertia*: Pliny's language is non-technical, but he is well aware of the fact that the momentum of impact varies not simply as the velocity but also as the mass of the moving body.

4. Lysiae: this well-known Attic orator (458-circ. 378 B.C.) was in high esteem among the ancients, and is especially compared with Cato by Cicero (*Brut.* 63 ff.), who calls both of them *breues*, and characterizes Lysias elsewhere (*Or.* 30) as *causidicum non quidem amplum atque grandem, subtilem et elegantem tamen, et qui in forensibus causis posset praeclare consistere.* Quintilian also estimates him shrewdly in *Inst. Or.* X. 1. 78 *Lysias, subtilis atque elegans et quo nihil, si oratori satis est docere, quaeras perfectius. nihil enim est inane, nihil arcessitum; puro tamen fonti quam magno flumini propior.*

Gracchorum: the pre-eminence of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus among the earlier Roman orators was often insisted on by Cicero: cf. *De Or.* I. 38 *omnium mihi uideor, exceptis, Crasse, uobis duobus* (i.e. Crassus and Antonius), *eloquentissimos audisse Ti. et C. Sempronios*; and there was a decided revival of interest in at least Gaius (the more eloquent; cf. Liv. *per.* 60; Vell. II. 6. 1) in Fronto's time; cf. Fronto *Ep.* p. 145 *tribunalia Catonis et Gracchi et Ciceronis orationibus celebrata.* Quintilian acknowledges their excellence, with that of Cato, but finds it necessary to warn students against a too servile imitation of them: cf. *Inst.* XII. 10. 10 *sed fuere quaedam genera dicendi condicione temporum horridiora, alioqui magnam iam ingenii uim ostendentia. hinc sint*

Laelii, Africani, Catones etiam Gracchique; II. 5. 21 *ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum Catonisque et aliorum similium lectione durescere uelit; sicut enim horridi atque iciuni: nam neque uim eorum adhuc intellectu consequuntur, et elocutione, quae tum sine dubio erat optima, sed nostris temporibus aliena est, contenti, quod est pessimum, similes sibi magnis uiris uidebuntur.*

Catonis: *sc.* the Censor, who is often joined with the Gracchi among the older orators; cf. the citations above. Cicero, however, would not have put him in the same class with Lysias, and speaks less approvingly of his style than of that of the Gracchi: cf. *Brut.* 293 *risum uix tenebam cum Attico Lysiae Catonem nostrum comparabas, magnum mehercule hominem uel potius summum et singularem uirum; nemo dicet secus: sed oratorem? sed etiam Lysiae similem? quo nihil potest esse pictius;* 294 *orationes autem eius, ut illis temporibus, ualde laudo; significant enim quandam formam ingenii, sed admodum impolitam et plane rudem*; cf. also *De Or.* I. 171; *Or.* 152 *orationes illae horridulae Catonis.* He also came into vogue again in later days; cf. Fronto *l.c.*; Spart. *Hadr.* 16. 6 [*Hadrianus*] *Ciceroni Catonem praetulit*; and the defence of Cato against the criticism of Tiro in Gell. VI. 3.

circumcisae et breues: cf. the similar collocation of epithets in III. 7. 11 (Sel. 25).

Demosthenen, etc.: Pliny cites the first three of the Alexandrian canon of the ten Attic orators. Cf. the characterization of them in Quint. X. 1. 76 ff.; Tac. *Dial.* 25; and Pliny's own remarks upon Demosthenes (whom he calls *ille norma oratoris et regula*) in IX. 26. See also I. 2. 2, 3 (Sel. 2).

Pollionem, etc.: the group of orators here cited are those especially praised (with Caluus) by Quintilian (X. 1. 113 ff.; 2. 25) and by Tacitus (*Dial.* 21, 25), though Asinius Pollio, the famous orator, poet, historian, and critic (75 B.C.–5 A.D.), might seem to have approached the Gracchi in style.

Caesarem: *sc.* Julius Caesar, of whom Quintilian says (*l.c.*) *si foro tantum uacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur.* Cicero's praise of his oratory is equally marked (cf. *Brut.* 261 f., *et al.*), and so is that of Tacitus (*Dial.* 21, *et al.*).

Caelium: *sc.* M. Caelius Rufus, the friend and earlier follower of Cicero, who praises his oratory highly, but remarks that he was better in attack than in defence (*Brut.* 273), in which opinion Quintilian (VI. 3. 69; X. 1. 115) and apparently Tacitus (*l.c.*) concur.

M. Tullium: Quintilian also opposes Cicero to the Gracchi and Cato; VIII. 5. 33 *quo modo potest probare Ciceronem qui nihil putet ex Catone Gracchisque mutandum?*

quae maxima: *sc.* doubtless the successful defence of Cluentius from the charge of poisoning his step-father,—for the third book of the *actio secunda* against Verres, which is longer, would hardly be reckoned by Pliny as a plea, since it was not actually delivered. And there is no indication traceable elsewhere that one of the speeches no longer extant (*e.g.* one of the two for C. Cornelius mentioned below) can be meant. According to Quintilian (II. 17. 21) Cicero boasted *se tenebras offudisse iudicibus in causa Cluenti*, and Sidonius says (*Ep.* VIII. 10. 3) *Marcus Tullius in actionibus ceteris ceteros, pro Aulo Cluentio ipse se uicit.*

hercule: cf. I. 13. 3 (Sel. 9) n. *hercule.*

melior quo maior: not agreeing with the sentiment of the famous epigram of Callimachus preserved in Athen. III. p. 72 ὅτι Καλλίμαχος ὁ γραμματικὸς τὸ μέγα βιβλίον ἴσον ἔλεγεν εἶναι τῷ μεγάλῳ κακῷ.

5. **statuas**, *portrait-statues*: **signa**, *busts*: **picturas**, *painted portraits.* But while *statua* is regularly used of full-length statues of men, *signum* is as commonly applied to the statue of a god; and that may be the distinction here.

nihil, etc.: nothing was more depictive of Roman character than the taste for the colossal as such.

uoluminibus ipsis, etc.: so the formal inaugural address of Verginius as consul was written out in a more stately roll than usual; cf. II. 1. 5 (Sel. 15).

6. **incomprehensibilis et lubricus**: *i.e.* hard to catch and hard to hold.

ita eludit ut contendat, *he evades by the claim.*

ego contra puto: yet Pliny did precisely the same thing in the case of his Panegyric; cf. III. 18. 1 *quod ego in senatu cum ad rationem et loci et temporis ex more ficissem, bono cuni conuenientissimum credidi eadem illa spatiosius et uberius uolumine amplecti*: and of his speech for Clarius; cf. IX. 28. 5 *esse tibi redditam orationem pro Clario, eamque uiuum uberiorem quam dicente me, audiente te, fuerit. est uberior: multa enim postea inserui.* And Quintilian sanctions the practice in XII. 10. 55.

7. **multorum**: C. Galba might have been cited, who appears to have published only the peroration of one of his speeches (Cic. *Brut.* 127), and L. Crassus, who published only

parts of his defence of Licinia (Cic. *Brut.* 160) and of Q. Caepio (*ibid.* 164). With the collocation *multae multorum* cf. VIII. 8. 7 (Sel. 57) *multa multorum*.

Ciceronis pro Murena: the defence of L. Licinius Murena, cos. desig. in 63 B.C., from the charge of *ambitus*. The speech as preserved to us is of quite respectable length, but in § 57 the paragraphs *de Postumi criminibus, de Serui adulescentis* are given by title only. The third part of Cicero's earliest speech, the one *pro Quinctio*, of the year 81 B.C., appears also to have been omitted in publication. The speech **pro Vareno** is not extant. But Cicero's usual custom seems to have been to publish his speeches in substantially the same form in which they were delivered, even though they were not committed to writing till after delivery (cf. *Brut.* 91; *Tusc.* IV. 55).

subscriptio: the written declaration of the crimes alleged, which the plaintiff was compelled to file before admission to standing before the court: cf. *Dig.* XLVIII. 2. 7 *si cui crimen obiciatur, praecedere debet crimen subscriptio, quae res ad id inuenta est, ne facile quis prosiliat ad accusationem, cum sciat inultam sibi non futuram.*

8. ait, etc.: cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 199 *meum laborem, qui totam hanc causam uetere instituto solus peroraui.* But Cicero seems to have reference not so much to the length of the speech as to the extreme complexity of the case, the entire content of which he mastered and presented, instead of sharing it with other counsel.

pro C. Cornelio quadriduo egisse: cf. Ascon. p. 62 Or. *Cicero ipse significat quatriduo Cornelium defendisse, quas actiones contulisse eum in duas orationes apparet.* It does not follow that Cicero's actual speeches were unusually long, as much time must have been consumed in the examination of witnesses, and in the other incidents of a wrangling trial. The case was tried in 65 B.C. on a technical charge of *maiestas*, and apparently was of the utmost importance. But the speeches have come down to us in the merest fragments only.

unum librum: Asconius (*l.c.*) speaks of two speeches for C. Cornelius. Pliny apparently refers to them as a single book (cf. also, though they are less clear, Quintilian's references), because they were published together. And Cornelius Nepos (ap. Hieron. *Ep.* 72), says that the defence of Cornelius was delivered *me praesente iisdem paene uerbis quibus edita est.*

9. actio: a speech as heard.

oratio: a speech as read.

persuasum habeo, etc. : Pliny may be right in insisting that the critical reader of a speech should always imagine himself a listener : but he is most certainly wrong in asserting that any effective speech cannot fail to make good reading afterward. His attitude is, as usual, too severely academic. He is attributing too little influence to the living voice, and to the contagious sympathy of an audience.

10. figuras extemporales : cf. Quint. XI. 2. 47 *idque in actionibus inter praecipua servandum est ut . . . cogitantibus nonnunquam et dubitantibus similes quaerere videamur quae attulimus.*

artificem, etc. : in Verr. II. IV. 5 ; cf. Quint. IX. 2. 61, who quotes the passage under the remark (§ 59) *sunt et illa iucunda et ad commendationem cum varietate tum etiam ipsa natura plurimum promnt, quae simplicem quandam et non praeparatam ostendendo orationem minus nos suspectos iudici faciunt*, and adds that Cicero by this assumed forgetfulness avoided the appearance of being a *connoisseur* in matters to which he reproached Verres for being passionately devoted.

tempus : *sc.* for delivery. On the time allowed for pleas see II. 11. 14 n. (Sel. 17).

11. adsunt, etc., *this opinion of mine is supported by the laws* ; cf. the note cited above on § 10 *tempus*.

angustissimis causis, *cases of the least complexity.*

12. usus, magister egregius : cf. VI. 29. 4 *usum et esse et haberi optimum dicendi magistrum* ; but IV. 19. 4 (Sel. 34) *amore* [*docente*], *qui magister est optimus*, though here of music. The proverb occurs frequently from Cicero's time onward ; cf. *e.g.* Cic. *Rabir. Post.* 9 *si usus magister est optimus.*

iudicaui, *have served as juror* : Augustus had excused (or excluded) senators from ordinary jury-duty, but they continued to serve on certain special tribunals, as in the centumviral court : cf. IV. 29 ; VI. 2. 7 (Sel. 41).

in consilio fui, *I have sat as assessor* : the principle was an established one in Roman practice that no magistrate or referee, even the emperor himself, should deliver judgment in important cases without hearing the advice of counsellors who sat with him on the case : cf. Mommsen *Staatsr.* I.[3] pp. 307 ff. For instances of Pliny's service as assessor of the emperor cf. IV. 22 (Sel. 35) ; VI. 22 : VI. 31. See also I. 9. 2 (Sel. 6) n. *in consilium.*

trahunt, *bring in their train.*

13. suae, etc., *every man has a weakness for his own discernment, and when another has uttered what he has himself hit upon he adopts it as the weightiest argument.*

14. Regulus: cf. I. 5. 1 (Sel. 4) n. *M. Regulo.*

cum simul adessemus, *when we were joint counsel.*

iugulum: the metaphor seems to have been a rhetorical commonplace; cf. Quint. VIII. 6. 51 *ceterum allegoria paruis quoque ingeniis et cotidiano sermoni frequentissime seruit. nam illa in agendis causis iam detrita 'pedem conferre' et 'iugulum petere' et 'sanguinem mittere' inde sunt, nec offendunt tamen.*

15. πάντα λίθον κινῶ: cf. Eurip. *Herac.* 1002 *πάντα κινῆσαι πέτρον.* The figure is perhaps rather from the game of draughts (*λίθος = calculus*), than like our 'leave no stone unturned.'

16. exerceo, *work.*

17. imperspicua, *impenetrable*: apparently *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον.*

iudicum ingenia, *the ways of a jury.*

Pericles: Cicero in a number of places praises highly the oratory of Pericles, and speaks of some of his speeches as extant (*Brut.* 27; *De Or.* II. 93). Quintilian repeats the traditional praise, but questions the authenticity of extant works attributed to him (*Inst.* III. 1. 12), and later declares definitely against it (XII. 2. 22; XII. 10. 49). The famous speech over the dead at Marathon (Thuc. II. 34 ff.) is as much the work of Thucydides as of Pericles.

Eupolide: the contemporary, and, with Cratinus, the rival, of Aristophanes. Only fragments of his comedies remain. The passage quoted by Pliny (from his *Δῆμοι*) is preserved in the scholia on Aristoph. *Acharn.* 504, and is quoted by Cicero (*De Or.* III. 138; *Brut.* 38, 59) and by Quintilian (X. 1. 82).

πειθώ τις: cf. Quint. (*l.c.*) *quandam persuadendi deam*; Cicero, however (*De Or. l.c.*), paraphrases as *cuius in labris . . . leporem habitasse* (but *Brut.* 59 *πειθώ . . . quam deam in Pericli labris scripsit Eupolis sessitauisse*). So Ennius (ap. Cic. *Brut.* 58, *et al.*) called M. Cornelius Cethegus *suadae medulla.*

τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε: the idea seems to be that Pericles produced an effect that endured and stimulated to action, while other orators produced only a temporary titillation of the emotions: cf. Cic. *Brut.* 38 *tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis suae, non, quem ad modum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis,*

cum delectatione aculeum etiam relinqueret in animis eorum a quibus esset auditus. The meaning is not to be confused with that of the same metaphor from the bee in Plat. *Phaedo* 40 *ἀντιτείνετε, ὅπως μὴ ἐγὼ ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἅμα ἐμαυτόν τε καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσας ὥσπερ μέλιττα τὸ κέντρον ἐγκαταλιπὼν οἰχήσομαι.*

18. sine facultata summa: cf. Quintilian, who says that such *uis* and *celeritas* constitute of themselves the true oratorical power: *Inst.* XII. 10. 65 *hanc uim et celeritatem in Pericle miratur Eupolis, hanc fulminibus Aristophanes comparat, haec est uere dicendi facultas.*

qui non pungit, sed infigit, *who not merely pricks but pierces.*

19. comicus alter: *sc.* Aristophanes (in *Acharn.* 531); cf. Cic. *Or.* 29 *Pericles . . . qui si tenui genere uteretur, nunquam ab Aristophane poeta fulgere, tonare, permiscere Graeciam dictus esset*; Quint. *l.c.*; II. 16. 19; XII. 10. 24.

20. 'optimus tamen modus est': a common saw ascribed originally to Cleobulus, and frequently quoted: cf. Auson. *Sept. Sap.* 67 f. *Ἄριστον μέτρον esse dixit Lindius | Cleobulus. hoc est, optimus cunctis modus.*

21. alius, etc., *the one is said to have overreached his theme, the other not to have fulfilled its requirements.*

materiam: cf. I. 2. 3 (Sel. 2) *materia.*

ille ... hic, *the latter ... the former*, with a reversal of the usual, but by no means the invariable, order of reference in the case of these demonstratives. In this instance the more immediate object of Pliny's thought is the writer *qui uiribus peccat*, and hence the reference by *hic*; cf. II. 14. 2 (Sel. 20) *hic ... illic*; V. 8. 9, 10; and *hic* of what follows in VII. 4. 3 (Sel. 47).

limatioris: cf. I. 2. 5 (Sel. 2) n. *limam.*

22. ἀμετροεπῆ, *endless babbler*: *sc.* Thersites; cf. Hom. *Il.* II. 212.

sed hunc: *sc.* Odysseus; see Hom. *Il.* III. 221 f. *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὄπα τε μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος εἵη | καὶ ἔπεα, κ.τ.λ.* Cf. Quint. XII. 10. 64 [*Homerus*] *summam expressurus in Ulixe facundiam, et magnitudinem illi uocis et uim orationis niuibus hibernis copia uerborum atque impetu parem tribuit.*

et ille: *sc.* Menelaus; cf. Hom. *Il.* III. 213 ff. *Μενέλαος ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγόρευε, | παῦρα μέν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως, ἐπεὶ οὐ πολύμυθος | οὐδ' ἀφαμαρτοεπής*; Quint. XII. 10. 64 *Homerus breuem quidem cum iucunditate et propriam (id enim est non deerrare uerbis) et carentem superuacuis eloquentiam Menelao dedit.*

23. quorum, etc., *whose lazy whims it is absurd to treat as a sober judgment.*

si hos, etc., *if you take such men into consideration.*

25. accederes: the use of *accedere* in the sense of the more classical *assentiri* apparently has its origin, like that of the earlier word, in senatorial usage, being derived from the custom, in a division of the house, of going over to the side of the proposer of the action favoured.

14. (I. 23.)

Ought a tribune to plead cases?—Q. Pompeius Falco, to whom Pliny addresses this letter and three others on less important themes (IV. 27; VII. 22; IX. 15), was the son-in-law of Q. Sosius Senecio (cf. introd. n. to I. 13,—Sel. 9), and attained great distinction in the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, being promoted to several of the most important provincial governorships and to other high offices. Cf. especially an inscription from Gabii, *C.I.L.* X. 6321 (= Henzen 5451, = Wilm. 1170, = Dessau 1035).

1. an: on this particle introducing a single indirect question cf. I. 18. 5 (Sel. 12) n. *an.*

causas agere debere: the tribunes of the late Republic seem to have had no scruples about the matter.

inanem umbram: as a matter of theory the *tribunus plebis* under the empire retained substantially the same authority that he had exercised under the republic. But practically he was much overshadowed by the *tribunicia potestas* of the *princeps*, and the suppression of the popular assemblies had deprived him of the most frequent and most important opportunities of using his authority. For most persons, therefore, the tribunate was merely a formal step in the senatorial *cursus honorum*. Yet a tribune did sometimes veto senatorial legislation (cf. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 9; Spart. *Vit. Sev.* 3), and on one well-remembered occasion Vitellius had appealed for the protection of the tribunes against an adverse speech of Helvidius Priscus in the senate (Tac. *H.* II. 91; Dio 65. 7). An instance of similar (but disregarded) appeal is mentioned by Pliny himself in IX. 13. 19 (Sel. 64). Cf. also VI. 8. 3. Arulenus Rusticus also (cf. I. 5. 2 n.,—Sel. 4) had offered to interpose his tribunician veto to save Thrasea Paetus from condemnation by the senate (Tac. *An.* XVI. 26). With the phrase cf. Luc. II. 302 *tuum nomen, libertas, et inanem umbram.*

potestatem sacrosanctam: the epithet is defined by Festus 318 M. *sacrosanctum dicitur quod iure iurando inter-*

posito est institutum, si quis id violasset, ut morte poenas penderet; cuius generis sunt tribuni plebis aedilesque eiusdem ordinis. The institution is described in Liv. III. 55 *ipsis quoque tribunis, ut sacrosancti viderentur, relatis quibusdam ex magno intervallo caerimoniis renovarunt, et cum religione inviolatos eos tum lege etiam fecerunt sanciendo ut qui tribunis plebis, aedilibus, iudicibus decemviris nocuisset, eius caput Iovi sacrum esset, familia ad aedem Cereris, Liberi, Liberaque venum iret.*

in ordinem cogi: the figure is that of reducing a centurion or military tribune to the ranks; and hence *in o. cayere* or *redigere* signifies to treat a person of station with contempt and contumely: cf. Liv. XXX. ap. Prisc. XVIII. 23. 182 Krehl *'tribuni plebis in ordinem redacti' pro contemptissimi habiti*; Suet. *Vesp.* 15 *Heluidio Prisco . . . [Vespasianus] non ante succensuit quam altercationibus insolentissimis paene in ordinem redactus.*

2. errauerim: with the infrequent reference of the perfect tense of the potential subjunctive to actual past time. On the construction see Hale in *Trans. Amer. Philol. Ass.* XXXI. (especially pp. 156 ff.), whence the discussion may conveniently be traced backward through the articles therein referred to.

qui me esse aliquid putaui, *in fancying myself somebody*: cf. Cic. *Tusc.* v. 104 *eos aliquid putare esse*; Iuu. 1. 74 *si uis esse aliquid*; Vulg. *Gal.* 2. 2 *qui uidebantur aliquid esse*; Plat. *Apol.* 33 ἐὰν δοκῶσί τι εἶναι μηδὲν ὄντες; Fritsche on Theocr. 11. 79.

cui adsurgere, etc.: to rise from one's seat on the entrance of a superior, or of an elder, was a mark of respect in ancient as in modern times (cf. Cic. *Sen.* 63 *haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, . . . decedi, adsurgi*); and lack of proper respect for a tribune in not giving him place was technically punishable; cf. Plut. *C. Grac.* 3 Γαΐου Βετουρίου θάνατον κατέγνωσαν, ὅτι δημάρχῳ πορευομένῳ δι' ἀγορᾶς οὐχ ὑπεξέστη μόνος.

hunc omnibus sedentibus stare: as the advocate must do. The emperor Claudius apologized for the circumstances that compelled the tribunes to stand while addressing him (Suet. *Claud.* 12).

iubere tacere quemcumque: as the tribune, Metellus Nepos, forbade even the consul, Cicero, to address the people: cf. Dio Cass. XXXVII. 38; Plut. *Cic.* 23.

clepsydra: on the legal limitation of pleas cf. II. 11. 14. n. (Sel. 17).

conuicia audire: the amount of disorder and of personal abuse allowed in the sessions of senate and of courts was apparently as great in Pliny's day as in that of Cicero; cf. Cic. *Att.* I. 16; *Qu. Fr.* II. 3; Plin. *Ep.* II. 14. 5 ff. (Sel. 20); IX. 13. 19 (Sel. 64).

3. aestus, *embarrassment*: cf. IX. 34. 1 *explica aestum meum.*

appellasset: the technical word for calling upon a tribune for his interference (cf. **intercederem**) and protection (cf. **auxilium ferrem**).

quem contra: with the anastrophe cf. VIII. 8. 2 (Sel. 57) *hunc subter.*

eiurato: *i.e.* surrendered the office, taking the usual oath that it had been legally administered.

priuatum: here, as regularly in the time of the Republic, and usually elsewhere in Pliny, of a citizen holding no public office: but often in the time of the Empire, and occasionally elsewhere in Pliny, of any subject, as distinct from the emperor himself; cf. II. 1. 2 (Sel. 15); V. 3. 5 *fin.* (Sel. 36); *et al.*

5. quam personam tibi imponas, *what rôle you adopt*: **persona** in this classical sense occurs twice more in Pliny (II. 20. 8,—Sel. 22; VIII. 7. 2). In the three remaining instances he uses the word in the non-classical sense of *homo*, of 'the person chiefly involved' (II. 11. 1,—Sel. 17; II. 14. 1,—Sel. 20; and VI. 33. 2). Trajan, in his rescripts, uses the word once in this latter sense (X. 84) and once in the technical sense of 'legal status' (X. 57).

LIBER II.

15. (II. 1.)

The death of [L.] Verginius Rufus.—On C. Licinius Voconius Romanus, to whom this letter is addressed, see intr. note to I. 5 (Sel. 4).

Verginius died apparently toward the end of the year 97. This date is fixed by the following considerations. The death of Verginius took place during the consulship of Tacitus (§ 6), after a long and painful illness (§ 4), consequent upon an accident that befel him at the very opening of the year 97 or

end of 96 (§ 5). Nerva was yet alive when the death of Verginius occurred (§ 3); and he died during his own fourth consulship and Trajan's second, on the 27th of January, 98 A.D.

1. **publicum funus**: i.e. one conducted not as usual by the family of the deceased, but, by decree of the senate, at the care and expense of the state. Cicero gives the formula of a *senatus-consultum* of this sort at the end of his 9th Philippic. Cf. further Marquardt *Privatleben*,[2] pp. 350 ff.

Vergini Rufi: our knowledge of his life comes from this letter, and from references in Tac. *Hist.* I., II., in Plut. *Galba*, and in Dio Cass. LXIII, LXIV, LXVIII; cf. notes below *passim*; L. Paul in *Rhein. Mus.* LIV. pp. 602 ff.

et perinde felicis: a noteworthy fact, since during the preceding reigns few great men had been judicious or unambitious enough to avoid trouble.

triginta annis: ablative of 'amount of difference.' Verginius first won great fame in 69 A.D. (twenty-eight years only before his death), when, as *legatus pro praetore* in command of upper Germany, he crushed in a single battle at Vesontio (Besançon) the formidable revolt of Iulius Vindex, the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis. His victorious troops, who had fought against the Gallic usurper through no loyalty to Nero, urged him clamorously to declare himself emperor, and to lead them into Italy; but he, with greater prudence, or less ambition, than Galba, the governor of nearer Spain, refused to claim the dangerous distinction. Both Plutarch (*Galb.* 6) and Dio (LXIII. 25) represent the soldiers of Verginius as urging the principate upon him repeatedly (πολλάκις), but perhaps these occasions were all practically at one time. A few months later he supported the cause of Otho against Vitellius, and after the disastrous battle of Betriacum succeeded with some difficulty in making his escape from the tumultuous soldiery, who insisted that he should either be their emperor, or their envoy to sue for peace (Tac. *Hist.* II. 51). This offer of the throne by the remnants of a beaten and demoralized army, which had been unable to defend the throne of Otho, can hardly be seriously counted as a proffer of imperial authority, and apparently was not so counted by Verginius himself nor by Pliny; cf. the epitaph of Verginius in VI. 10. 4 (Sel. 44).

2. **carmina, historias**: it is idle to inquire too closely what writings these were, for it was common to make contemporary campaigns the subjects of epic (cf. *e.g.* VIII. 4.—Sel. 56) and of history. But some now vanished histories which dealt

with the times of Verginius can be cited,—*e.g.* those of Cluuius Rufus (cf. IX. 19. 5,—Sel. 65; Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 20; XIV. 2), and the work of the elder Pliny in continuation of Aufidius Bassus (cf. III. 5. 6,—Sel. 24; Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 20; XV. 53; *Hist.* III. 28; Plin. *N.H.* II. 199, 232). Tacitus also mentions (*l.c.*) Fabius Rusticus among his authorities for this period.

posteritati suae interfuit: the vigorous oxymoron has proved too much for some editors, who would translate 'lived to hear the verdict of,' or the like.

perfunctus est: he therefore lived to complete his *nundinum* as consul with Nerva.

tertio consulatu: *sc.* with Nerva himself, during the first *nundinum* of 97 A.D. His two previous consulships had been in 63 A.D., with C. Memmius Regulus, and in 69 A.D., under Otho, with L. Pompeius Vopiscus.

priuati hominis, *of a subject*; cf. I. 23. 3 n. (Sel. 14).

3. Caesares, etc.: Pliny would hardly reckon Vespasian and Titus among the natural foes to virtue, though Vespasian had, in a fit of passion too late repented of, ordered the death of Heluidius Priscus. Galba had perhaps, but not certainly, been suspicious of the loyalty of Verginius (Tac. *Hist.* I. 8; Plut. *Galb.* 10); Otho had apparently been his grateful friend; and Vitellius had taken pains to save his life even when his own former soldiers had demanded his death (Tac. *Hist.* II. 68). Only Nero and Domitian remain to be his enemies, and under the first he had been promoted to honour, without any indication of reserve, while even under Domitian there is no sign that the emperor feared or disliked him. Apparently Pliny is speaking rather hysterically than historically.

reliquit incolumem, etc.: *sc.* Nerva,—for if Trajan had come to the throne, Pliny could surely not have avoided mention of the fact that Verginius outlived the emperor in connection with whose distinguishing mark of favour he suffered his finally fatal accident. And furthermore, the tone of the passage indicates that the emperor then living was the first to rule beneficently after the reign of terror.

4. annum tert. et octog. excessit, *he had completed his eighty-third year*: and must have been born, therefore, in the year 14 A.D.

manus tremere: *sc.* with the palsy of age.

citra dolorem tamen, *yet painlessly*: the preposition in this sense ('falling short of') occurs in Ovid and in succeeding

writers, (in Tac. *Agr.* and *Germ.*, but not in *Hist.* and *Ann.*), but only here in Pliny.

8. uocem praepararet: *i.e.* getting his voice into shape, doubtless by rehearsing the speech he was shortly to deliver (at the meeting of the senate on the first day of January).

acturus principi gratias: *sc.* for the imperial favour by which he had been nominated. Such speeches of compliment and thanks were the customary formality from newly inaugurated consuls; cf. Pliny's so-called Panegyric on Trajan, which is an elaborated form of his own speech when entering upon the consulship.

liber: *i.e.* the MS. of the speech, in the form of the usual papyrus-roll.

quem forte acceperat grandiorem, *which happened to be awkwardly large for him to hold.*

grandiorem: such orations appear to have been regularly of considerable length, especially for an age which inclined toward oratorical brevity; but the position of the adjective in the dependent clause indicates that the speaker's condition rather than the absolute size of the roll made it clumsy for him to hold.

hunc dum sequitur colligitque, *in reaching after it and gathering it up*: for the book had doubtless unrolled at length as it fell.

per, *on*: as designating a general locality rather than a precise position.

pauimentum: floors in the better class of houses were usually of polished mosaic or of marble slabs.

coxam fregit: probably a fracture of the neck of the femur, a common fracture in the case of falls of the aged, and one from which they rarely make good recovery, on account of the impaired nutrition that accompanies senility.

quae, etc., *which was not properly set, and knit but poorly, the patient's age being against him.*

6. magnum ornamentum principi: in that Nerva honoured himself in thus honouring the memory of Verginius.

saeculo, *the age*: cf. I. 5. 11 (Sel. 4) n. *saeculi*.

laudatus est a consule: the *laudatio funebris* was usually pronounced by a near relative of the deceased: on the occasion of a *funus publicum*, however, that duty was performed by some high public official designated for the purpose: cf. Quint. III. 7. 2 *funebres laudationes pendent frequenter ex aliquo publico officio, atque ex senatus consulto magistratibus saepe mandantur.*

Cornelio Tacito: there is no other clue to the date of the consulship of Tacitus, but the considerations mentioned above indicate that it must have been in the year 97 A.D., and toward the end of the year, perhaps with Domitius Apollinaris as his colleague (see IX. 13. 5,—Sel. 64,—n. *ab exsilio redierant*). There is, of course, no possibility that Tacitus was the successor of Verginius as the colleague of Nerva, as Furneaux and others have declared (cf. *inter alia* § 2 n. *perfunctus est*).

7. nobis, etc., *yet we cannot but miss and lament him.*

non solum publice: sc. *sed etiam privatim*, as, indeed, some of the later and interpolated MSS. falsely read: cf. II. 7. 6 *publice laetor nec privatim minus*; V. 14. 6 (Sel. 38) *mihi gratulor nec privatim magis quam publice*; X. 1. 2 (Sel. 73) *et privatim et publice opto.*

8. eadem regio: i.e. *Transpadana.*

municipia finitima: Pliny's native place was Comum (Como); that of Verginius is unknown; it may have been Leucerae (Lecco), Bergomum (Bergamo), or Mediolanium (Milan).

tutor relictus: *sc.* by the will of Pliny's father. The guardian thus designated would ordinarily be recognized by the magistrate, and would continue to exercise his functions as the legal representative of the ward until the especial condition of the testamentary appointment was fulfilled, or, more commonly, until the ward reached the age of puberty; cf. Gaius I. 144 ff.; Ulp. XI. 14 ff.

adfectum; post-Augustan in this sense of 'affection.'

suffragio, *with his support*: the *suffragatores* lent the candidate the influence of their recognized high position, and in the early imperial period spoke in his behalf before the senate at the time of the elections. Pliny describes the proceedings in III. 20. 5; and a number of his letters of recommendation are written as a *suffragator* to gain other *suffragatores* for some friend (*e.g.* IV. 15; VI. 6).

ad omnes honores, etc.: *i.e.* to escort the new magistrate when he went to take formal possession of his office; cf. I. 5. 11 n. (Sel. 4) *in praetoris officio.*

ex secessibus: perhaps from his country-seat at Alsium; cf. VI. 10. 1 (Sel. 44). The plural has reference to different occasions, not necessarily to different places.

sacerdotes: *i.e.* members of one of the four great priestly colleges, *pontifices*, *augures*, *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, and *septemviri epulonum*: cf. Dio Cass. LIII. 1. 5 ταῖς τέτταρσιν

ἱερωσύναις . . . λέγω δὲ τούς τε τεττίφυκας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς τούς τε ἑπτὰ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας καλουμένους.

solent nominare, etc. : all four colleges were theoretically perpetuated from earliest times by coöptation. The gradual modifications of this theory are too complex to be set forth in a brief note. By Pliny's time the actual promotion to these most coveted distinctions was in the hands of the emperor, though apparently on a fixed day in each year the separate colleges met, and, though there might be no vacancy, each member named a single candidate for appointment. These persons perhaps formed a 'waiting-list,' from which the emperor chose a candidate to fill any actual vacancy that might occur, and the college elected him perforce,—as the Dean and chapter of an English cathedral elect perforce as bishop the person recommended to them by the Crown. Cf. Mommsen *Staatsr.*[3] II. pp. 29 ff., 1109 ff.

me semper nominabat : so also Iulius Frontinus **always** named Pliny, and to his place in the college of augurs Pliny finally succeeded (about 103 A.D.) ; cf. IV. 8. 3.

9. qui...constituebantur : the retrenchments made **necessary** for a time in the public finances under Nerva by **reason** of the wanton extravagance of Domitian are mentioned by Dio Cassius (LXVIII. 2) ; and to the senatorial commission Pliny refers in Pan. 62 *hi sunt quos senatus, cum publicis sumptibus minuendis optimum quemque praeficeret, elegit, et quidem primos.*

huius aetatis : the possibility of this appointment must have come up in the first rather than the last part of the year 97 A.D., and Pliny would therefore have been at that time nearly or quite 35 years of age : cf. Intr. p. xv. With this use of the genitive of quality cf. III. 1. 5 (Sel. 23) *uxorem singularis exempli* (= VIII. 5. 1) ; 5. 8 (Sel. 24) *somni paratissimi* ; II. 17. 16 (Sel. 21) *cryptoporticus prope publici operis* ; VII. 30. 1 *discipulum optimae spei* ; VI. 15. 3 *est Priscus dubiae sanitatis* ; and other writers, especially from Nepos and Livy. Pliny also uses the ablative of quality (cf. *e.g.* III. 16. 3,—Sel. 28).

per quem excusaretur, *to present his excuses* : not, as has often been claimed, 'to serve in his place,' an interpretation rendered impossible by the circumstances of the case, if by nothing else.

tibi mandarem : sc. *hoc officium.*

10. quibus ex causis : cf. I. 2. 6 (Sel. 2) n. *ex causis.*

si tamen fas est fieri : cf. the epitaph of Naevius ap. Gell. I. 24. 2 *immortales mortales si foret fas flere.*

11. uiuit uiuetque semper: with the sentiment cf. the epitaph of Ennius ap. Cic. *Tusc.* I. 34 *nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu | faxit. cur? uolito uiuus per ora uirum*: with the phrase cf. Cic. *Amic.* 102 *mihi quidem Scipio, quamquam est subito ereptus, uiuit tamen semperque uiuet*: Vell. II. 66. 5 (of the murdered Cicero) *uiuit uiuetque per omnem saeculorum memoriam*; and similar collocations of present and future tenses of other verbs are not infrequent in Latin literature (cf. *e.g.* the conclusion of Tac. *Agr.*).

12. uolui tibi multa alia scribere, etc.: cf. the close of the letter on the death of Iunius Auitus, VIII. 23. 8 *in tantis tormentis eram, cum scriberem haec, scriberem sola; neque enim nunc aliud aut cogitare aut loqui possum.*

teneo, *embrace.*

neminem: so of Fannia, in VII. 19. 4 (Sel. 50), whose like (Pliny says) will hardly be seen by the state again. Cf. also Horace in *Carm.* I. 24. 6-8 on the virtues of the lost Quintilius.

16. (II. 6.)

On a false hospitality.—The Auitus to whom the letter was addressed was apparently either Iulius Auitus, whose death is mentioned in v. 21. 3 as taking place while he was returning home from a province where he had been serving as quaestor, or more likely Iunius Auitus, who died while aedile designate, to the overwhelming grief of Pliny, who commemorates him in VIII. 23. Iulius Auitus was apparently the brother of Iulius Naso (VI. 6. 6), another of Pliny's friends, and Iunius Auitus was one of the legatees mentioned in the will of Dasumius (108 or 109 A.D.); but they appear nowhere else in history or literature.

1. altius repetere, *to go into the matter too deeply*: the verb is apparently used strictly of searching the memory for details, especially in connection with *altius*; cf. II. 3. 3 (of the memory of Isaeus) *repetit altius quae dixit ex tempore, ne uerbo quidem labitur*; IV. 11. 15 (Sel. 32); IV. 13. 10 (Sel. 33); VII. 4. 2 (Sel. 47); and even I. 22. 3 [*rationes*] *ab origine causisque primis repetit*; and I. 8. 8 *ne longius exempla repetamus.* In the simple sense of 'to recollect' the verb is said to be rare without *memoriā*; but in Pliny cf. II. 3. 3 (cited above); III. 5. 16 (Sel. 24); VII. 6. 7, 13.

lautum et diligentem, *elegant and yet frugal*: *et = et tamen*; cf. III. 1. 9 (Sel. 23) n. *et antiquo.*

sordidum simul et sumptuosum, *niggardly in the midst of his lavishness.*

2. uilia et minuta, *cheap and poor*: both Iulius Caesar and Hadrian forbade such distinctions at their own tables (Suet. *Iul.* 48; Spart. *Hadr.* 17. 4), but Martial, for example, indicates that they were common enough in his day (cf. *e.g.* Mart. III. 60; Inu. 5. 146 ff.); Plin. *N. H.* XIV. 91).

gradatim, *in classes*: (as in VIII. 2. 8) instead of with the more usual meaning of 'step by step,' 'gradually,' as in II. 14 14 (Sel. 20). The development of the *clientela* under the empire, and especially of the *salutatio matutina* (cf. III. 7. 4, —Sel. 25,—n. *salutabatur*), had led to these formal distinctions between 'friends' of different degrees (*primae, secundae, tertiae admissionis*). Gaius Gracchus and Livius Drusus were the first to divide their followers into three classes of graded intimacy, according to Seneca, who shares Pliny's dislike of the custom as a snobbish one; cf. Sen. *Benef.* VI. 33, 34 *consuetudo ista uetus est regibus, regesque simulantibus, populum amicorum discribere. est proprium superbiae . . . habuerunt itaque isti amicos primos, habuerunt secundos, nunquam ueros.*

3. proximus: cf. the same meaning expressed by *mecum* in IX. 23. 2, 4 (Sel. 67).

recumbebat: of the posture at meals, for the more common *accumbere*, which Pliny does not use, or *accubare*, which Pliny uses twice (III. 1. 8,—Sel. 23; VI. 16. 12,—Sel. 45). *Recumbere*, however, occurs even in Cicero, and elsewhere in Pliny twice (IV. 22. 4,—Sel. 35; IX. 23. 4,—Sel. 67). Pliny also uses the poetical *recubare* once in this sense (IX. 17. 3).

ad cenam, non ad notam, *to dinner, not to degradation*: the figure is of course that of the *nota censoria*.

4. etiam: here not the simple adverb of affirmation, 'yes,' but an answer by repeating the interrogative word,—'even freedmen?' 'even [them].'

5. hercule: cf. I. 13. 3 (Sel. 9) n. *hercule*.

in ordinem redigenda: cf. I. 23. 1 (Sel. 14) n. *in ordinem cogi*.

6. luxuria, *self-indulgence*.

7. turpissima ... turpius: with this exaggeration by union of a comparative with a superlative cf. *Pan.* 89 *optimus ipse non timuisti eligere meliorem*; 92 *dedit optimum, meliorem optimo genuit*.

17. (II. 11.)

The trial of Marius Priscus.—On Maturus Arrianus, to whom this letter is addressed, see introductory note to I. 2 (Sel. 2).—The letter was evidently written immediately after the trial described in it (cf. § 1 *per hos dies*), which was held in the month of January, 100 A.D. (cf. notes on § 10 *consul* ff., and § 19 *consul designatus*). It is referred to by Pliny in VI. 29. 9 in the list of important cases pleaded by him, and again in III. 4. 4 and 9. 2 ff., an account of the process against Caecilius Classicus. In X. 3A (Sel. 75) is preserved the letter in which Pliny, who was then serving (with Cornutus Tertullus) as prefect of the treasury of Saturn, asks the emperor's approval of his appearance in the case at the request of the senate. The offences of Priscus were so rank as to make the penalty inflicted (§§ 19, 22) seem inadequate to public opinion as represented by the satirist Juvenal; cf. Iuu. 1. 47 ff. *damnatus inani | iudicio (quid enim salui*s *infamia nummis?) | exul ab octaua Marius bibit et fruitur dis | iratis: at tu, uictrix prouincia, ploras!*; 8. 119 f. *quanta autem inde feres tam dirae praemia culpae | cum tenuis nuper Marius discinxerit Afros?*

1. secesseris: cf. I. 9. 3 (Sel. 6) n. *secesseris*.

personae; *the party involved*: cf. I. 23. 5 (Sel. 14) n.

2. Marius Priscus: nothing more is known about him than is contained in this letter and in the passages cited in the introductory note above. In III. 9. 3 Pliny remarks that Priscus was a native of Baetica, while Classicus, the simultaneous oppressor of Baetica, was a native of Africa; whence the Baetics remarked with grim humour, '*dedi malum et accepi.*'

Afris: but from III. 9. 4 we learn that the charges against Priscus were brought not, as in the cases of Classicus and others, by the province as a whole, through its *concilium*, but by a single city and a number of private individuals.

pro consule: the year of his governorship (and of that of Classicus in Baetica) is unknown. But it could not have been very long before the charges were brought, while it would naturally have fallen, at this period, several years after his consulship (cf. § 12), which Henzen conjectured him to have been filling in Sept. 87 A.D. (cf. Henz. *Acta Fratr Arual.* pp. CXX., 195).

omissa defensione: he pleaded guilty, or at least *nolo contendere*, to the charges of extortion, hoping that thereby the more serious accusations would be passed over.

iudices petiit: *i.e.* asked to have the case referred directly to special commissioners authorized to determine the amount of money to be refunded. Such boards of *reciperatores* ordinarily consisted of either three or five members, and their decisions were final.

adesse prouincialibus iussi: sc. *a senatu*: cf. X. 3A 2 (Sel. 75) n. The date of this assignment of counsel may well have been a considerable time before the matter of the serious crimes of Marius was brought before the senate. The consideration of X. 3A (Sel. 75) in its connection would seem to fix it in the year 98, and toward the latter part of the year, when Pliny had entered upon service as prefect of the treasury of Saturn, and the consuls for the last *nundinum* had not yet entered upon office.

ob innocentes condemnandos: the mere charge of accepting bribes as a judge was satisfied by the plea of guilty to *repetundae*; cf. Dig. XLVIII. 11. 3 *lege Iulia repetundarum tenetur qui, cum aliquam potestatem haberet, pecuniam ob iudicandum uel non iudicandum decernendumue acceperit.* But in the putting to death of *innocent* men lay the moral gravamen of the charge, which seemed to Pliny and Tacitus to remove it from the ordinary category of such offences.

3. Fronto Catius: Ti. Catius Caesius Fronto had been consul in Oct. 96 A.D., doubtless upon Domitian's earlier nomination. He was made a *frater Arualis* in 105 A.D. He appears elsewhere in Pliny's letters as the counsel for Iulius Bassus (IV. 9. 15), and a supporter of Varenus Rufus (VI. 13. 2). He may have been related to the poet T. Catius Silius Italicus (on whom see III. 7,—Sel. 25). Nerva is said by Dio (LXVIII. 1. 3) to have put a stop to prosecutions of the *delatores* of Domitian's reign in consequence of the remark of Catius that it was bad enough to have an emperor under whom no man could do anything, but worse to have one under whom any man could do anything.

repetundarum: sc. *rerum*, as usual in the designation of this process at law.

omnia actionis, etc.: *i.e.* having no legal or logical ground to stand on, he directed all his efforts toward the arousing of the sympathies of the senate. The metaphor is a common one in Latin, but is somewhat clumsily elaborated here.

uir ... peritissimus: Pliny speaks favourably elsewhere of his oratorical effectiveness: IV 9. 15 [*egit*] *mirifice*; VI. 13. 2 *respondit . . . grauiter et firme.*

4. cognitionem senatus lege conclusam, *that the senate was legally barred from further proceedings*: apparently in that Marius had pleaded guilty to the charge of extortion, and the amount of judgment had been referred to the usual commissioners, without action being taken at the time on the other charges, which ought, therefore, to be considered as formally dismissed. The defendant accordingly should not be put twice in jeopardy for the same offence (cf. Dig. XLVIII. 2. 7. 2).

quantumque, etc., *and that the penalty inflicted upon the defendant should correspond to the full extent of his crimes.*

admisisset (sc. *in se*): of the incurring of guilt, not of the confession.

5. [Ti.] **Iulius Ferox** was evidently consul in this same year (99 A.D.). Two years later he was promoted to be *curator aluei Tiberis* (*C.I.L.* I. p. 181), and before the service of Pliny in Bithynia he had been in command of an army (x. 87. 3). He appears to have been proconsul of Asia in 116 or 117 A.D. (see the coin cited in Mommsen's Index to Keil's *ed. mai.* p. 414). He may be the Ferox to whom Pliny addresses a single brief and unimportant letter (VII. 13).

rectus et sanctus, *upright and conscientious.*

euocandos, *should be summoned*: sc. from the African province.

6. frequens, *supported by numbers.*

8. Vitellius, etc.: of the two culprits nothing more is known than is contained in this letter.

trecentis milibus (sc. *sestertium*): about £3,260, or $16,000,—though in estimating the practical value of the bribe the greatly decreased purchasing power of money in modern times must be taken into account.

exsilium equitis Romani: the provincial governor had authority to punish certain crimes by exile, or even by death (*Dig.* XLVIII. 19, 22), and this whether the defendant were a Roman citizen or not: but to put a Roman citizen to death, or to inflict upon him corporal punishment, without allowing him appeal to the emperor (as under the Republic to the people), unless in a time of riot, exposed the governor himself to the penalties of the *lex Iulia de ui publica*: cf. *Dig.* XLVIII. 6. 7 *lege Iulia de ui publica tenetur qui, cum imperium potestatemue haberet, ciuem Romanum aduersus prouocationem necauerit, uerberauerit, inscripserit quid fieri.* Pliny dwells especially upon the innocence of the sufferers under Marius, and not upon his act as exceeding his competence: and this

leads Mommsen to think (*Staatsr.* II.[3] p. 269 n. 5) that there must have been exceptions to the limitation of the governor's authority; yet Marius may have pleaded simply the one exception mentioned above. But it must also be conceded that he may have had by special imperial grant the *ius gladii* (see Mommsen *Strafrecht* p. 243), by which he was relieved of the necessity of allowing appeals to the emperor, and the only challenge of his procedure could be on the ground of disregard of evidence of innocence.

ultimam poenam: a legal phrase for capital punishment; cf. *e.g. Dig.* XLVIII. 19. 21 *ultimum supplicium esse mortem solam interpretamur*; but it is not unusual in Livy and the post-Augustan writers; cf. also VIII. 14. 24 *ultimum supplicium*.

septingentis milibus: about £7600, or $38,000.

plura supplicia: flogging, in a manner and to an amount dictated by the presiding magistrate, had been, even since republican times, a regular preliminary to the carrying out of a capital sentence in the case of men, though not of women (Mommsen *Strafrecht* p. 938 f.; and the case of Our Lord). It was, however, excluded in case of military sentences to death, and under the principate culprits of recognized social position (*honestiores*) were exempted from it (*Dig.* XLVIII. 19. 28. 2; *et al.*) Flogging was also a precedent to the carrying out of a sentence to hard labour in public mines or quarries (*damnatio in metallum*, or *in opus metalli*), a penalty unknown in republican times, but common under the empire. From this latter penalty also *honestiores* were ordinarily exempt (Mommsen *ibid.* p. 951), but it might sometimes be inflicted for a limited term (only upon *tenuiores?*) as a precedent to the death-penalty; see *e.g. Mos. et Rom. Leg. Coll.* XI. 7. 2 *ut ad gladium abigei dentur; aut si quis tam notus et tam gravis in abigendo fuit ut prius ex hoc crimine aliqua poena affectus sit, hunc in metallum dari oportere*. Execution in prison by strangling was not a common form of infliction of the death-penalty among the Romans, though several well-known historical instances can be cited. It seems to have been reserved for *honestiores*, and the present is apparently the only known instance of this form of execution in a province. It was later forbidden everywhere (see Ulpian in *Dig.* XLVIII. 19. 8). Whether Marius Priscus went beyond his legal authority in inflicting the penalty of flogging and the mines upon an *eques* is doubtful, since Pliny lays stress only on the innocence of the victim. Possibly the later distinction between *honestiores* and *tenuiores* was not at that time strictly recognized in all cases.

9. inductus est: sc. *in curiam*; but some months must have passed since the meeting of the senate mentioned in the preceding sections of the letter.

Tuccius Cerealis: nothing more is known of him.

iure senatorio: just what this was is uncertain, but the implication in the connection is that it was a question of personal privilege raised by a member of the senate sitting as a court. He apparently, according to senatorial procedure, had a right to demand that the chief defendant be required to present himself for interrogation along with his alleged accomplice. (Gell. IV. 10, often cited, is not in point.)

10. senatum, *session of the senate*: cf. v. 4. 2 *alio senatu*; IX. 13. 6 (Sel. 64) *senatus intra diem tertium*.

princeps: *sc.* Trajan, as is evident from X. 3A (Sel. 75), and by a comparison of *Pan.* 76 with § 18 *iam hoc ipsum*, etc., on which see note.

erat enim consul: probably not written for the sake of later readers of the letter, but simply because Arrianus, who apparently was living far out of reach of ordinary news, might not have been previously informed of the fact. The year is fixed as 100 A.D., that of the third consulship of Trajan, by comparison of the reference to Cornutus Tertullus (§ 19 n.) with *Pan.* 58, 60, 92, 95.

cum cetera, etc., *noteworthy in other ways and particularly for the number of senators it brings together*: for then took place the inauguration of the new curule officers, which was a great society occasion (see I. 5. 11,—Sel. 4,—n. *in praetoris officio*), and other important meetings, as for the *designatio* and *renuntiatio* of the suffect-consuls for the year. Moreover the month had an unusually large number of days ritually free for sessions of the senate.

11. super tanta re: apparently a colloquial idiom for *de tanta re*. It occurs a few times in Cicero's letters, in Sallust, and in Nepos, and is tolerably common from Livy downward; cf on the word in another meaning v. 5. 2 (Sel 37) n. *super*.

non semel, *more than once* (*i.q.* 'repeatedly'): but cf. v. 19. 5 (Sel. 40) where *non semel* is used of a thing that occurred just twice; cf. also VI. 16. 18 (Sel. 45) n. *semel atque iterum*.

12. stabat: apparently with some approach to the weakening of meaning which has resulted in the use of the verb in Italian as a mere auxiliary.

modo ... modo ... iam: the brachylogical use of the adverb of time as if modifying the substantive directly is sufficiently striking, though convenient in the lack of such constructions as the Greek definite article afforded with participles like γενόμενος and ὤν.

septemuir epulonum: cf. II. 1. 8 (Sel. 15) n. *sacerdotes*. The college of the *epulones* was established in 196 B.C. to relieve the *pontifices* of a part of their burdensome duties. The number of members was originally three, but was increased at some unknown time to seven, and under Caesar to ten, though the appellation *septemuiri* was still retained, and can be traced to the end of the 4th century A.D. (cf. *C. I. L.* VI. 501). The especial function of the *epulones* was to preside over all *epulae publicae*, and especially over the *epulum Iouis in Capitolio*; see Marquardt *Staatsverw.* III.[2] pp. 347 ff.

iam neutrum: for, being already adjudged guilty of *repetundae*, he had forfeited all senatorial distinctions.

13. quasi: modifying *peractae* alone.

14. utcumque, *in what* [i.e. *some*] *way or other, as best I could*: and not (as Kraut and some editors have it) 'as soon as': cf. VI. 20. 19 (Sel. 46) *curatis utcumque corporibus*; and I. 12. 2 n. (Sel. 8). *Vtcumque* here introduces the verb of its clause, *collegi, coepi* (however translated) not being asyndetic.

horis: Pliny uses the ablative to denote extent of time in more than a dozen instances; cp. Kraut, p. 16.

clepsydris: this machine for measuring fixed intervals of time, after the principle of the sand-glass, consisted essentially of an amphora, or other vessel, suspended, and filled to a given level with water, which was allowed to flow out through an opening of fixed size in the bottom of the containing vessel into a vessel beneath. For domestic use certain adjustments were made which enabled it to measure aliquot parts of a day. For use in the law-courts four clepsydrae measured an hour; but whether there was an adjustment according to the varying length of the Roman hours in the different seasons is not known. The statement of Pliny that the *clepsydrae* allowed him were *spatiosissimae*, so that 16 of them amounted to nearly five hours, instead of to four, as would regularly be the case, indicates the possibility of such an arrangement by varying the amount of water in the containing vessel, or the size of the aperture. As early as Cicero's first legal experience the custom of allotting a definite time to the pleas of the prosecution and of the defence was in vogue, and Pompey, in his third consulship, is said to have fixed the

18. locus ille: *i.e.* the conclusion of the defence; cf. Quint. VII. 4. 3 *cum de poena iudicium est, a parte eius qui causam dicit aut defensio est criminis aut imminutio aut excusatio aut, ut quidam putant, deprecatio* (and Quint. VII. 4. 17).

inclusit, etc., *interrupted, without forcing it to a close; so his* probationes *extended into the third day.*

probationes: (Gk. πίστεις) a technical rhetorical term, denoting the third division of a legal plea, which was devoted to producing conviction in the minds of the jury; cf. Quint. III. 9. 1 *cuius partes . . . quinque sunt: prooemium, narratio, probatio, refutatio, peroratio.* Quintilian's fifth book is devoted to a discussion of the subject of *probationes.*

iam hoc ipsum, etc.: so Pliny characterizes the same occasion in *Pan.* 76 *iam quam antiquum, quam consulare, quod triduum totum senatus sub exemplo tui sedit*, etc.

19. [C. Iulius] **Cornutus Tertullus**: the main source of information concerning him outside of Pliny's letters is an inscription (*C.I.L.* XIV. 2925; = Dessau 1024), which shows him to have been in his earlier career city-quaestor and aedile of Ceres. Vespasian and Titus in their censorship (71–74 A.D.) gave him the rank of an ex-praetor, and he was sent out as governor of Crete and Cyrene. Pliny's praetorship was in 93 A.D., at the age of 31 and 32, the minimum age for that office being 30. Cornutus must therefore have been some 18 or 20 years older than Pliny, his colleague in the prefecture of the treasury and the consulship. Somewhat later he was made curator of the Aemilian road, and later yet he governed the province of Aquitania, then that of Pontus and Bithynia (apparently succeeding Pliny therein), then of Narbonensis, and finally of Asia, surviving both Pliny and Trajan. Pliny and Cornutus were warm personal friends. To Cornutus Pliny addresses two letters (VII. 21, 31), the former speaking of an attack of ophthalmia and thanking him for the present of a fowl, the latter a letter of introduction. See also on Cornutus IV. 17. 9; V. 14 (Sel. 38); IX. 13. 15, 16 (Sel. 64); *Pan.* 90.

consul designatus: *sc.* with Pliny himself. They came into office in September of the year 100 A.D. (*Pan.* 92, 61); and as they were designated somewhat early in the month of January (see *Pan.* 75-77), even if not, as Mommsen thinks, necessarily on the ninth day of that month (*Étude*, pp. 66 ff.; *Staatsrecht* I.[3] p. 589), the trial of Marius Priscus must have occurred not in the very first part of the month.

censuit: *sc.* after the conclusion of the defence. On the *perrogatio sententiarum* see IX. 13. 7, 9, 13 nn. (Sel. 64).

septingenta milia: apparently the matter of the 300,000 (§ 8) had to be dropped on account of the death of Honoratus and the consequent impossibility of proving the charge.

urbe: cf. I. 10. 1 (Sel. 7) n. *urbs nostra*.

interdicendum, etc.: a sentence of perpetual *relegatio*; see I. 5. 5 (Sel. 4) n. *relegatus*.

hoc amplius Africa: not that Marcianus was more guilty than Priscus, but that Africa was his home; cf. the case cited in *Dig.* XLVII. 18. 1. 2 *diuus Marcus effractorem equitem Romanum . . . quinquennio abstinere iussit prouincia Africa, unde erat, et urbe et Italia.* The sentence proposed for Marcianus was the same as if he had been convicted in his own province; see Suet. *Claud.* 23 *sanxit ut . . . quibus a magistratibus prouinciae interdicerentur, urbe quoque et Italia summouerentur*; *Dig.* XLVIII. 22. 7, etc.

20. adsenserunt: the speaker was at liberty either to make a new proposition of his own, or to express an entire, or a modified, agreement (*adsentiri*) with a motion (*sententia*) made by a previous speaker.

[Cn.] **Pompeium Collegam**: he had been consul in 93 A.D.

in quinquennium: instead of perpetually, as moved by Cornutus.

relegandum: not differing in meaning from *interdicendum* above.

21. uel solutiore uel molliore, *whether [they thought it] more lax or more lenient.*

sequebantur: apparently by changing their seats, as was sometimes the custom even before a division, for others near the proposer of the decision they favoured.

22. discessio, *the division*: before the expression of the *sententiae* the house had been cleared of all but persons qualified to vote. On ordering the final division the presiding consul stated one of the proposals, in its original or in its modified form, at his discretion, and bade those who favoured it to seat themselves on a specified side of the house, and all those who favoured any different proposition, on the other side. Then, determining on which side the plurality sat, he announced his decision by the words (with accompanying gesture) *haec pars maior uidetur*, or the like, and if the proposition did not carry, proceeded to put some other on the same subject. Pliny (VIII. 14. 19) gives the formula of

division as *qui haec censetis* [al. *sentitis*] *in hanc partem, qui alia omnia in illam partem ite qua sentitis*; Festus (261) gives it in slightly different form. On the whole subject see Mommsen *Staatsr.* III. pp. 978 ff.

qui sellis consulum adstiterant: probably not the senators of higher rank, but simply those who had risen and were standing in the open space in front of the chairs of the consuls, awaiting the immediate announcement of the division.

in Cornuti sententiam ire: *i.e.* to pass to the side where he sat. The phrase had come to be a technical one also for 'to support the proposal of Cornutus.'

Regulo: see I. 5. 1 (Sel. 4) n. *M. Regulo.*

alioqui, *in general*, and not merely on this one occasion.

ut plurimum audeat plurimum timeat, *as to display the extreme of hardihood and the extreme of fearfulness*: cf. *e.g.* I. 5 (Sel. 4) *passim.*

23. λειτούργιον, *an appendix*: the word evidently means a small (λῖτός) piece of business growing out of a larger one (the marginal gloss in F gives as the translation *negotium*). It is probably not to be confused with the classical λειτουργία.

non leue: *i.e.* not easy to settle, though small in importance as compared with the case of his principal.

Hostilius Firminus: nothing more is known of him.

qui permixtus, etc., *who was involved in the case and has been handled with great vigour and roughness.*

rationibus Marciani, *the account-books of Marcianus*: which were doubtless produced in open court. The evidence of the demands of Firminus upon the Leptitani may have been given by the submission of the records of their senate, or by oral testimony.

ordine: so the council of a municipality was called that corresponded to the senate at Rome.

Leptitanorum: probably of the greater Leptis, in Tripolis, a town of considerable importance from the time of its founding by the Phoenicians. It played an important part in the civil wars of Rome, received a Roman colony under Trajan, and was the birthplace of the emperor Septimius Severus.

ad turpissimum ministerium: probably in browbeating the municipal council into yielding to extortion.

stipulatus de, *to have bargained for ... from*: *sc.* acting as agent for his master. The sum probably formed part of the HS. 700,000 mentioned in § 8.

denariorum: the *denarius* was the commonest silver coin, and had the value of four *sestertii*, but is seldom mentioned, as here, in the expression of large sums of money. The sum of 50,000 *denarii* amounted to something like £2200, or $10,500.

ipse, *for himself*, **praeterea**, *in addition*: *sc.* to the larger sum paid him in behalf of his master.

sestertia decem milia: the connection indicates that the servant-go-between received a *Trinkgeld* for himself, which must have been a reasonably modest sum, and not an immense one like ten thousand *sestertia* (= ten million *sestertii*,—more than £109,000 or about $525,000). Mommsen would read *sestertium* for *sestertia*. But the emendation is unnecessary, for sufficient instances can be cited where *sestertia* is used adjectively with *milia* to make it certain that *sestertia decem milia* itself means 'ten thousand *sestertii*' (about £108 or $530): cf. Hultsch *Griech. u. röm. Metrologie*,[2] pp. 293 ff.

foedissimo quidem titulo, nomine unguentarii, *and that under a shameful item*, '*on account of ointment-money*': the last two words are perhaps quoted directly from the account-book of Marcianus. **unguentarium** (*sc. argentum*) is but a euphemistic term for a gratuity (*Trinkgeld*, *pour boire*, *buona mano*, *pin-money*), as certain gratuities given soldiers were called *clauarium* or *calcearium* (Tac. *Hist.* III. 50; Suet. *Vesp.* 8). Cf. also *uiatico* in III. 21. 2 (Sel. 29).

compti et pumicati, *curled and sleek-skinned* (i.q. *glabri*): epithets descriptive of an effeminate fop, or worse; cf. Plin. *N.H.* XXXVI. 154 *pumices qui sunt in usu corporum lēuandorum feminis, iam quidem et uiris*; Cic. *frag. orat. in Clod. et Cur.* V. 1 B. et K. *quem decet muliebris ornatus, quem incessus psaltriae, qui effeminare uoltum, attenuare uocem, lēuare corpus potes*; Ov. *Art. Am.* I. 506 *nec tua mordaci pumice crura teras.*

24. senatu: cf. § 10 n. *senatum*.

25. delicatissimae, *choice* or *pet*: probably so, rather than with reference to their physical need of especial care ('tender'; cf. the traditional description *molle pecus*).

in summa: cf. I. 12. 12 n. (Sel. 8).

aeque longam epistulam reddis: cf. the similar endings of letters, *e.g.* I. 20. 25 (Sel. 13); IV. 11. 16 (Sel. 32); IX. 2. 5; IX. 28. 5; IX. 32.

18. (II. 12.)

The sentence of Hostilius Firminus (see preceding letter, § 23 f.).

1. Λιτούργιον: cf. § 23 of the preceding letter, n. Λιτούργιον.

nescio an satis: *i.e.* after a fashion, though not in a style to suit Pliny's judgment: cf. I. 15. 3 (Sel. 10) n. *nescio an.*

circumcisum et adrasum, *trimmed off and polished down*: the figure is apparently from the sculptor's studio, where some piece of work is finally completed by chiselling off the last superfluous bit of material, and filing down the remaining roughness to a finish.

2. **crimini noto**: cf. § 23 of the preceding letter.

Cornutus Tertullus: see § 19 of the preceding letter.

ordine mouendum: the penalty of expulsion from the senate, which might be inflicted in the earlier republican days by the consuls, and after the Ovinian law (312 B.C.) by the censors, might under the empire be inflicted by special act of the senate, or, since Domitian set the example, by the arbitrary action of the emperor; cf. Mommsen *Staatsr.* III. pp. 879 ff.

Acutius Nerua appears to have served as consul (with an unknown colleague) in the *nundinum* preceding that of Pliny and Cornutus Tertullus. Inscriptions of a Q. Acutius who was at one time *legatus pro praetore* in Lower Germany (Brambach. *Inscr. Rhen.* 660, 662, 680) may refer to him, but there our knowledge ends.

in sortitione prouinciae: the government of the senatorial provinces was assigned each year by lot to the properly qualified *consulares* and *praetorii*, with the corresponding *adlecti*: cf. Marquardt *Staatsverw.* I.[2] pp. 544 ff.

rationem eius, etc., *his name should be disregarded*: as a provincial governorship was not only a high honour, but evidently afforded other great emoluments, to be debarred from candidacy was a very practical loss to pocket as well as to pride.

alioqui, *in other respects* than in its appearance of clemency, and therefore 'in fact.'

3. **quid enim**, etc.: in consideration of the fact that actual attendance upon the meetings of the senate was not obligatory, Pliny's attempt to prove that formal expulsion would have been an act of clemency appears rather fantastic, as his arguments not infrequently appear, when he is on the losing side.

4. publice, *from the standpoint of the community.*

a proconsulatu: *i.e.* from hope of a proconsulship.

damnatum sordium, etc.: cf. Cicero's sarcasm in *Phil.* I. 20 *ut enim quisque sordidissimus uidebitur, ita libentissime seueritate iudicandi sordes suas eluet.*

5. numerantur, etc.: cf Liv. XXI. [illegible]. 1 *ut plerumque fit, maior pars meliorem uicit*; and the Greek saying *τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος νικᾷ*. Cicero indicates in similar terms the right mode of judgment in *Off.* II. 79 *non enim numero haec iudicantur sed ponderе*; id. *Opt. Gen. Or.* 14 *non enim ea me adnumerare lectori putaui oportere sed tanquam appendere.*

nihil est tam inaequale, etc.: cf. IX. 5. 3 *nihil est ipsa aequalitate inaequalius.*

6. tabellario, *mail-carrier*: as in Cicero's day, rich persons in private station had such private messengers of their own. A public service for the sake of quick communication between the home government and the provinces had been instituted by Augustus; see X. 120. 1 (Sel. 108) n. *diplomata.*

7. litteris quales, etc.: *with a very full letter, such as can readily be returned from your abode.*

19. (II. 13.)

A military appointment is asked for a promising friend.—The Priscus to whom this letter is addressed may very well be the L. Neratius Priscus who had been suffect consul with M. Annius Verus (in 83 A.D. ?), and in 98 or 99,—to which date, therefore, this letter might, though doubtfully, be ascribed (cf. § 2 n.),—was praetorian legate of Pannonia (cf. Henzen *Inscr.* 5446, Dessau 1033. 1034, and notes). Neratius is well known as a jurist, and an intimate friend of Trajan, who is said to have thought of him as his successor. Though supplanted by Hadrian, he kept in the good graces of the latter emperor, having therein a happier fate than that of his almost equally distinguished brother, Neratius Marcellus: cf. Spart. *Hadr.* 4. 8; 18. 1; 15. 4. Whether the Priscus who meets us in VI. 8; VII. 7, 8, 15, 19 (Sel. 50) is this Priscus cannot be determined.

2. de causis: cf. I. 2. 6 (Sel. 2) n. *ex causis.*

regis exercitum amplissimum: perhaps as praetorian legate of Pannonia; cf. introd. note above.

longum tempus: the governors of imperial provinces held office at the pleasure of the emperor, but terms of two or three years appear to have been common enough; while governors of senatorial provinces held office for one year only.

3. conuertere: middle voice.

unus aut alter, *one or two.*

ac potius: *aut potius* (the reading of F), or *uel potius* appear to be the more common varieties of this corrective phrase, but *ac potius* is thoroughly classical, and occurs several times elsewhere in Pliny; cf. II. 14. 13 (Sel. 20); II. 17. 25 (Sel. 21); VI. 10. 3 (Sel. 44); VI. 18. 3.

4. Voconius Romanus: cf. introd. note to I. 5 (Sel. 4).

in equestri gradu clarus, *a man of prominence in the equestrian rank*: to which at this time apparently any man of free birth, good character, and a census of 400,000 sesterces (about £4375 or $21,000) might be admitted by grace of the emperor, marked by the gift of a gold ring (which none below that order were allowed to wear) or of a 'public horse' (the act dating from the time when the *equites* served as cavalry) or perhaps of both.

e primis, *of one of the first families.*

citerioris Hispaniae: the earlier division of Spain into two provinces (*citerior* and *ulterior*) had been altered under Augustus by the setting-off from the further province of a separate province of Lusitania, after which the remainder of the further province was also called Baetica. The nearer province consisted of three 'dioceses,' Asturia and Gallaecia, Tarraconensis, and a third in the centre of the country, perhaps called Carthaginiensis.

grauitas, *propriety of action.*

flamen: Tarraco had been one of the earliest seats of the formal worship of *Roma et Augustus*, and Tiberius had granted the inhabitants of *Hispania citerior* first the privilege of erecting a temple to these deities. The charge of the ceremonies of this central temple of the province was entrusted to a special *flamen*, who was elected annually by the delegated assembly (*concilium prouinciae*) of the free cities of the province from among their citizens. For the varying titles of this *flamen* see *C.I.L.* II. *passim*.

5. seria ... iocos: apparently a proverbial collocation, occurring frequently, and implying perfect familiarity; cf. Cic. *Fin.* II. 85 *at quicum ioca seria, ut dicitur, quicum arcana, quicum occulta omnia*; Liv. I. 4. 9 *cum his seria ac iocos celebrare*; Auson. *Parent.* 7. 11 *ioca seria mixti*; *Profess.* 15. 5 *tam seriorum quam iocorum particeps*: cf. also IV. 17. 5.

7. Musas Latine loqui: an exaggeration of the praise of Plautus in Quint. X. 1. 99 *licet Varro Musas, Aelii Stilonis*

sententia, Plautino dicat sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui uellent.

8. nec tamen uincitur: *i.e.* the affection is mutual, and equal in degree; cf. IV. 1. 5 *nam uinci in amore turpissimum est.*

principe: *sc.* Trajan.

trium liberorum ius: since the time of Augustus and his legislation in the interests of morality, fathers of three legitimate children had been freed from certain civic burdens, and had been given preference in the *cursus honorum* and otherwise in various ways. But by grace, first of the senate and later of the emperor, a man without this qualification as parent might be given all political privileges that followed in its train. Pliny himself had the *ius trium liberorum*, given him by Trajan early in his reign (cf. X. 2,—Sel. 74), and in X. 94 is preserved the application for the same privilege made by Pliny to the emperor in behalf of Suetonius Tranquillus.

parce et cum delectu: cf. Trajan's own words about the *ius trium liberorum* in X. 95 *quam parce haec beneficia tribuam*, etc.

9. tam grate interpretetur: Mr. Cowan well quotes Milton *Par. Lost* IV. 54. ff. *A grateful mind | By owing owes not, but still pays, at once | Indebted and discharged.*

10. quantum amplissimum potes: for similar superlatives cf. III. 21. 6 (Sel. 29) *quantum maximum potuit*; VI. 12. 2 *quantum plurimum potuero.*

capacem: cf. I. 12. 7 (Sel. 8) n. *secreti capacissima.*

20. (II. 14.)

On the decay of dignity in the centumviral court.—Concerning the personality of the Maximus whose *cognomen* alone stands at the head of this letter nothing can be definitely determined. Nine letters are addressed by Pliny to Maximus, and the number is so unusual to be addressed by him to a single person as to arouse the suspicion that more than one person is made by defect of the MSS. to go under the same designation. Five different men of this *cognomen* are mentioned in the correspondence with Trajan, but none of them seems likely to have been a correspondent of Pliny. To two others, Messius Maximus (III. 20; IV. 25) and Nouius Maximus (IV. 20; V. 5,—Sel. 37) two letters each are addressed, but otherwise they are unknown.

1. centumuiralibus causis: cf. I. 5. 4 (Sel. 4) n. *centumuiros.*

personarum: cf. I. 23. 5 (Sel. 14) n. *personam*.

2. cum quibus iuuat dicere, *with whom I care to appear*: *sc.* on the opposing side: cf. VI. 2. 3 (Sel. 41) *uel dicentibus*.

adulescentuli: Pliny himself was, indeed, probably only nineteen or twenty years old when he was admitted to the centumviral bar (cf. I. 18. 3,—Sel. 12,—n. *adulescentulus adhuc*), but his plaint here is not so much of the youth as of the forwardness and lack of social position of the pleaders.

ad declamandum: *i.e.* to practise their school-exercises; for the composition and delivery of moot arguments, classed as *controuersiae* or *suasoriae*, formed an important part of the training under the *rhetor*; cf. Tac. *Dial.* 35 *duo genera materiarum apud rhetoras tractantur, suasoriae et controuersiae*; and Tacitus represents Messalla as going on with a scathing arraignment of the character of these schools as training-places for impudence. Petronius also (*Sat. init.*) criticizes them as unpractical in method. The vice of which Pliny complains was as old as Cicero's time; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 311 *tum primum nos ad causas et priuatas et publicas adire coepimus, non ut in foro disceremus, quod plerique fecerunt, sed ut, quantum nos efficere potuissemus, docti in forum ueniremus*.

huc transierunt, *have migrated hither*: *sc.* instead of remaining in their schools, where declamations used to be practised.

Atilius: cf. I. 9. 8 (Sel. 6) n. *Atilius*.

auspicari: apparently not quite equivalent to *incipere*, though this colourless meaning is not uncommon in Silver Age Latinity, but with the idea of 'to try to make a lucky start': cf. III. 5. 8 (Sel. 24) n. *auspicandi causa*.

ab Homero in scholis: cf. Quintilian's defence of the practice in *Inst. Orat.* I. 8, concluding, *ideoque optime institutum est ut ab Homero atque Vergilio lectio inciperet, quanquam ad intellegendas eorum uirtutes firmiore iudicio opus est*; and also Quint. X. 1. 46 *non rite coepturi ab Homero uidemur*.

hic ... illic: cf. I. 20. 21 (Sel. 13) n. *ille ... hic*.

3. hercule, etc.: cf. I. 13. 3 (Sel. 9) n. *hercule memoria parentum*.

ne nobilissimis quidem: in contrast to *obscuri* above.

producente: *sc.* allowing the budding lawyer to make his *début* before the court by appearing as junior counsel with himself. So Pliny apparently asks his friend Triarius in VI. 23 to introduce Cremutius Ruso to the bar.

pulcherrimum opus colebatur, *was the noble profession revered.*

4. auditores: cf. Pliny's remark in VI. 2. 3 (Sel. 41) on the habit of Regulus in inviting his friends to come and hear his pleas in court.

manceps conuenitur, *they meet the contractor*, who apparently pays them in advance, conducts them to their proper place, and leads the *claque*: cf. § 6 *mesochorus*.

in media basilica: *i.e.* in a perfectly public place. The Basilica Iulia, in which the sessions of the centumviral court were regularly held (cf. VI. 33. 4), occupied the entire space on the southwestern side of the Forum between the Vicus Iugarius and the Vicus Tuscus. It was an immense rectangular building enclosing a large central area within a double arcade of piers which were apparently repeated above, forming galleries that opened both outward and upon the central court-room. The building was begun by Julius Caesar, completed by Augustus, and subjected to restoration by various later emperors.

sportulae: the client had formerly dined more or less regularly at his patron's table; nowadays he was given a money-dole (*sportula*) in place of a meal. The name *sportula* appears to be derived from the basket in which the poor people carried away food from the public feasts given in connection with certain sacrifices; but some have supposed it to indicate that between the custom of giving a dinner to the client and of giving him a sum of money came that of giving him a basket of food from the patron's table (**in triclinio dantur**). The client might properly accompany his patron to court, and lend him the support of his applause; but Pliny speaks scornfully of these professional *claqueurs* as disgraceful caricatures of true clients: cf. also Iuu. 13. 31 ff. *nos hominum diuumque fidem clamore ciemus | quanto Faesidium laudat uocalis agentem | sportula.*

5. Laudiceni: of course from *laus* and *cena*; the pun on the name of the Laodiceans (*Lao-* or *Laudiceni*) is evident, the attempt being to cap the pun on a proper name in Greek by a similar pun in Latin: cf. Mart. VI. 48 *quod tam grande 'sophos' clamat tibi turba togata, | non tu, Pomponi, cena diserta tua est*; Anth. Pal. XI. 394 ποιητὴς πανάριστος ἀληθῶς ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος | ὅστις δειπνίζει τοὺς ἀκροασαμένους.

6. nomenclatores: it was the duty of the (slave) *nomenclator* to know every one, and to be ready to serve his master at home by admitting only proper persons to interviews with him, and there or on the street to prompt his master's

flagging memory by telling him the name and other circumstances of those with whom he should exchange salutations; cf. Hor. *Ep.* I. 6. 49 ff.

habent, etc. : *i.e.* they were but youngsters, without sufficient training or experience to be judges of good speaking. Being slaves they themselves of course could not assume the garb of Roman citizens.

togas (sc. *virilis*): cf. I. 9. 2 (Sel. 6) n. *officio togae virilis interfui.*

ternis denariis: somewhere about half-a-crown, or sixty-two cents, apiece.

quamlibet: a word unknown to Caesar and Cicero (who use *quamvis*), but common enough in Pliny's time with adjectives, participles, or even verbs.

numerosa: post-Augustan in the sense of *multa*: with the entire expression cf. VI. 33. 3 *ingens utrimque advocatio et numerosa subsellia, praeterea densa circumstantium corona . . . ad hoc stipatum tribunal*, etc.

mesochorus, *the coryphaeus* : apparently the *manceps* mentioned above.

8. tribunal ascendas: on the tribunal, which was a raised platform, apparently with concave front, sat not only the presiding magistrate with his *consilium*, but the *iudices*, and other persons, perhaps those of rank,—as sometimes upon the judge's bench to-day; cf. VI. 33. 4 (quoted above); IV. 16. 1 *proxime cum dicturus apud centumviros essem, adeundi mihi locus nisi a tribunali, nisi per ipsos iudices, non fuit; tanta stipatione cetera tenebantur*; Cic. *Brut.* 290 *volo hoc oratori contingat, ut cum auditum sit eum esse dicturum, locus in subselliis occupetur, compleatur tribunal, gratiosi scribae sint in dando et cedendo loco, corona multiplex*, etc.; Cic. *De Or.* I. 168; Tac. *Ann.* I. 75.

9. Larcius Licinus: he is mentioned by the elder Pliny (XIX. 35; XXXI. 24) as praetorian legate of Tarraconensis, serving doubtless at the same time that the elder Pliny was there as *procurator Augusti*, from whom Licinus wished to buy his 160 volumes of notes; cf. III. 5. 17 (Sel. 24). The legal career referred to must have fallen in the time of Claudius, or early in the reign of Nero (see notes below).

ut auditores corrogaret: but not by hiring an audience. He probably thought it no more harm to invite his friends to hear him deliver an actual plea before the court, than to invite them to listen to a private reading of the same, or a similar composition, as was a general custom; cf. I. 13 (Sel. 9) nn.

10. Quintiliano: M. Fabius Quintilianus was a native of Calagurris in Tarraconensis, and must have been born during the reign of Caligula, or late in that of Tiberius. His father became a teacher of rhetoric in Rome, and there the son received his chief training in the same profession, especially under Domitius Afer, to whose teaching he several times refers. Quintilian returned to Calagurris to practise his profession, but was brought back to Rome by Galba in 68 A.D., and spent the rest of his life there, chiefly in teaching rhetoric, and, during the reign of Domitian, in acting as tutor to the nephews of the emperor, and in the composition of his monumental work *Institutionis Oratoriae Libri XII*. His death occurred apparently late in the reign of Domitian, or not long after the end of that reign. Pliny's language in this place seems to indicate that Quintilian was not then alive.

praeceptore meo: cf. also VI. 6. 3 *ad audiendos quos tunc ego frequentabam,—Quintilianum, Niceten Sacerdotem,—uentitabat.*

adsectabar, *I was a follower of*: as young men got their practical training in public life by attaching themselves to some citizen of prominence and of ability, and by learning from him both through precept and through example: cf. III. 11. 7 (Sel. 26) n. *adsectatoribus.*

Domitium Afrum: Cn. Domitius Afer was a native of Nemausus in Lugdunensis, and attained distinction at Rome in both politics and oratory, dying at an advanced age in 59 A.D.

ex proximo: evidently more than one section of the centumviral court was in session at the time in the Basilica Iulia; cf. I. 5. 4 (Sel. 4) n. *centumuiros.*

11. intermissa causa, *throwing up his brief.*

hoc artificium periit, *this profession is dead.*

12. alioqui, *on the contrary*: *i.e.* looking from other points of view.

quae quam: on the (indirect double) *epiphonema*, see III. 5. 13 (Sel. 24) n. *tanta.*

fracta pronuntiatione, *falsetto tones*: the declining taste in oratory had led some of the newer school of speakers to simulate energy and passion by fluent utterance in a high-pitched monotone, which Pliny scornfully compares to the falsetto shriekings of the emasculated priests and other votaries of Cybele in her orgiastic rites, in which their delirious dances were carried on to the sound of cymbals,

tambourines, and flutes: cf. Iuu. 2. 111 *hic turpis Cybeles et fracta uoce loquendi | libertas*; and for criticism of the prevalent tendencies of style, Quint. XI. 3. 23 *non enim tam molli teneraque uoce quam forti ac durabili opus est*; Quint. IX. 4. 31 [*Domitius Afer*] *adeo refugit teneram delicatamque modulandi uoluptatem ut currentibus per se numeris quod eos inhiberet obiceret*; and especially Tac. *Dial.* 26.

teneris, *effeminate*: with reference to the falsetto voice called above *fracta*.

excipiantur: as the frenzied worshippers of the goddess render the priests shriek for shriek in their wild litanies, so the *corona* of auditors yells its approval of the howlings of the pleader.

13. plausus: here not the ordinary form of applause, but the rhythmical beating of the hands together that accompanied the other manifestations of and incitements to frenzy in the rites of Dionysus and of Cybele, as in the religious rites of (*e.g.*) some negroes of our own day: cf. Ov. *Met.* XI. 17 *tympanaque et plausus et Bacchei ululatus*.

ac potius: cf. II. 13. 3 (Sel. 19) n. *ac potius*. Pliny emphasises his own irony by the correction of an assumed slip of memory; for of course there was *plausus* enough of one sort in court.

cymbala: hollow hemispheres of metal a few inches in diameter, held one in each hand by the aid of small rings or thongs attached to the centre of their convex surfaces. Struck together, they gave a sharp, clanging sound: cf. Baumeister *Denkmäler*, abbild. 1350, 2390.

tympana: instruments like the modern tambourine in construction, and often, like it, with rattling disks of metal strung upon wires inserted in openings in the frame, or suspended at intervals from its edge by short cords; cf. Baumeister *Denkmäler*, abbild. 492, 714, 1184, 2390.

canticis, *chants*: cf. Tac. *Dial.* *l.c.*

ululatus, *howling*: another traditional accompaniment of the rites of Dionysus and of Cybele; cf. Maec. *frag.* 5 Bachr. *comitum chorus ululet*; Ov. *Fast.* IV. 341 *exululant comites*; Ov. *Met.* III. 725 *ululauit Agaue*.

theatris quoque: the gallery gods played no minor part in Roman theatres; cf. the references to uproar in the prologues of Plautus and Terence (*e.g. Poen.*, *Phor.*, *Hec.*), and Hor. *Ep.* I. 200 ff. *nam quae pernincere uoces | eualuere sonum, referunt quem nostra theatra? | Garganum mugire putes nemus aut mare Tuscum, | tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur et artes.*

14. ratio aetatis, *the consideration of my age*: which was not yet far enough advanced to justify retirement from active life. Elsewhere Pliny professes to long for retirement and study, but his zeal in this direction is somewhat academic in character; cf. III. 1. 11 (Sel. 23); IV. 23. 4 *quando mihi licebit, quando per aetatem honestum erit imitari istud pulcherrimae quietis exemplum? quando secessus mei non desidiae nomen sed tranquillitatis accipient?*

gradatim, *gradually*: cf. II. 6. 2 (Sel. 16) n. *gradatim.*

21. (II. 17.)

A description of Pliny's house on the Laurentine shore.— To a Gallus Pliny also addresses VIII. 20 (Sel. 59), another piece of description. The similarity of theme suggests that the correspondent is the same in each case. He may also well be the Asinius (?) Gallus to whom IV. 17 was written, as well as the Gallus against whom Pliny (I. 7) declined to act as advocate for the Baetics. The name Asinius Gallus is an honoured one in Roman history, but of this man nothing more is known.

Like some other writers of his day Pliny likes to try his hand at pieces of description. This letter and its companion piece, V. 6, a description of his country-seat on a foothill of the Umbrian Apennines (near Città di Castello), are his most ambitious attempts in this direction, and cannot be called very successful. Neither the theme nor the catalogue method of treatment arouses in the reader the enthusiasm that the writer aims to produce. But the present letter is unique in giving us a notion of the general complex structure of a Roman country-house where there were no limitations of site to contend with, and so far forth deserves some attention. Yet the writer fails completely, even when he tries, to convey a clear idea of the relative position, and sometimes even of the shape, of the successive apartments. Part of this failure may, to be sure, be due to our lack of preliminary knowledge, but for more his own deficiency in visualization must be held responsible.

The letter has commanded for the last century and a half more interest than it really merits, and numerous published attempts have been made, often with amusing variation of results, to draw ground-plans of the house from Pliny's description. Students further interested may consult Professor H. W. Magoun's papers in *Trans. of the Amer. Philol. Ass.* XXVI. pp. xxxiii. ff. (1894), XI. ff. (1895). See also

H. Winnefeld in *Jahrbuch d. deutsch. arch. Inst.* VI. pp. 201-217. No remains of the villa have been found to help in determining the question of its plan.

1. Laurens (sc. *praedium*): Pliny's own preference for the longer form of the adjective is shown, not only by this passage, but by the fact that in the six other places in his letters where this villa is mentioned by name the longer form is used.

2. secessit: a rare extension, in this especial sense of retirement, of the use of the verb with a personal subject; cf. I. 9. 3 (Sel. 6) n. *secesseris*.

saluo iam et composito die, *using and completing your entire day*: the latter part of the phrase has the flavour of poetry rather than of prose; cf. Verg. *Aen.* I. 374 *ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo*. The ordinary working-day of the Roman of station ended at noon, when the *prandium* was eaten: cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 84 ἡ καθάπερ ἡ μεσημβρία πέρας ἐστὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς τοῦ τὰ δημόσια καὶ σπουδαῖα πράττειν, οὕτως ἀρχὴν ἔδοξε ποιεῖσθαι τὸ μεσονύκτιον; τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου μέγα, τὸ μὴ ποιεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντα συνθήκας μηδὲ ὁμολογίας μετὰ μέσον ἡμέρας.

manere, *to spend the night*.

lapide (=*miliario*), *milestone*: *cippi* of this sort, variously inscribed, were regularly set up along Roman roads, and many of them have been preserved.

iunctis (sc. *equis*): *i.e.* for driving.

equo: *i.e.* for riding: cf. IV. 2. 3 (Sel. 30) *mannulos et iunctos et solutos*.

3. uaria facies: woods must have diminished very much since Pliny's day, nor is the pasturage so frequented now as when he wrote.

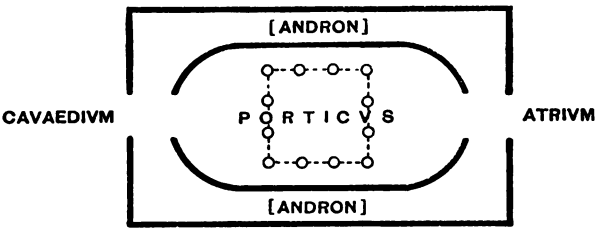
usibus capax, *as large as needful*: cf. I. 12. 7 (Sel. 8) n. *secreti capacissima*.

non sumptuosa tutela (doubtless nominative), *its maintenance not expensive*: cf. Plin. *N.H.* XVIII. 31 *ut uillarum tutela non sit oneri*.

4. atrium: it may be that the door of the house opened immediately into the *atrium*, as in some of the houses in Pompeii, but more likely the passage called the *fauces* is passed over by the writer as of no importance, or to be taken for granted (cf. § 15 n.).—Vitruvius remarks upon a different arrangement of apartments as common in suburban country-houses; cf. Vitr. VI. 5. 3 *in urbe atria proxima*

ianuis solent esse, ruri autem pseudourbanis statim peristyla, deinde tunc atria habentia circum porticus pauimentatas spectantes ad palaestras et ambulationes.

porticūs, etc.: this apartment occupied the place that was regularly filled in the city-house by the *tablinum*. The inward-sloping roof was apparently supported by an architrave resting on a rectangular system of columns, but the passage thus covered, instead of being of equal width on all four sides, was enlarged to a semicircle on two opposite sides by the curving of its wall, thus giving the effect in shape of two D's set face to face, and affording protected space for something more than a promenade. The general plan of the *porticus* would, then, be somewhat as follows:



specularibus: porticoes with the intercolumniations closed by windows are shown in certain drawings from an ancient fresco that were published by Professor Ch. Hülsen in the *Röm. Mittheilungen*, vol. XI. (1896), p. 224, with plates (cf. also Winckelmann in *Mon. Inediti* p. 266, pl. 204), and similar *loggie* protected by windows abound in the older *palazzi* of modern Rome. The earlier notion was that the Romans used no window glass, but only sheets of mica (*lapis specularis*, Pl. *N.H.* XXXVI. 160); but this notion has been thoroughly exploded by more recent discoveries.

5. contra medias (sc. *porticus*), *midway of the* [*curve of the*] *porticos*: cf. § 21 *contra parietem medium*; V. 6. 20 *contra mediam fere porticum diaeta paulum recedit.*

cauaedium: this room evidently occupied the place of the peristyle in the normal city-house, but its character is doubtful, as the word (or *cauum aedium*) is variously used by different writers. It is more frequently substantially synonymous with *atrium*; and as Pliny's villa had plenty of out-of-door room, and hardly needed a large peristyle, and the *porticus* were a sort of small and specialized form of the

peristyle, very probably he uses the word *cauaedium* to represent simply a second (and larger) *atrium*.

in litus excurrit: so the Romans commonly built their sea-side houses; cf. Hor. *Carm.* II. 18. 19 ff. *struis domos | marisque Baiis obstrepentis urges | summouere litora, | parum locuples continente ripa*; also VI. 20. 4 (Sel. 46) n. *area*.

nouissimis fluctibus: cf. Ov. *Met.* III. 681 *falcata nouissima cauda est* (of the tip of the tail).

atque ita: *i.e.* the room had large windows on the side opposite the entrance, opening directly toward the sea, and other windows on the adjacent sides to right and left, commanding an oblique view of the sea in either direction.

siluas et longinquos montes: back from the Laurentine shore there are still thickets and plantations of trees. The montes referred to are doubtless M. Algidus and the Alban rather than the Volscian hills.

6. retractius paulo: *sc.* so as not to block the view of sea and shore from the side windows of the dining-room. The course of the description now changes to a southeasterly direction.

cubiculum: apparently here not a sleeping-room (cf. *dormitorium membrum* below), but a private sitting-room or study; cf. I. 3. 1 (Sel. 3) *cubicula diurna nocturna*.

7. huius cubiculi: this room alone is specified merely because it was the last mentioned; but the use of the word *angulus* of the included space, and the way in which the semicircular room (*cub. in hapsida curuatum*) is said to adjoin the *angulus*, make it probable that the south-western wall of the *cubiculum minus* was but a continuation in the same line of the wall of the *cub. maius*.

solem continet et accendit: cf. § 17 *teporem solis infusi repercussu auget*.

hibernaculum: Pliny's *Laurentinum* was his favourite winter-resort, as his *Tusci* was his summer-home; cf. § 24 *Saturnalibus*; IX. 40 (Sel 72).

meorum: sc. *seruorum ac libertorum*, as even in Cicero; cf. also § 24 *meorum*, and V. 6. 46 *mei*; V. 19. 1 (Sel. 40) *tuos, meos*; 8 *tuis*; VI. 25. 4 *suis*; VII. 27. 7 (Sel. 54) *suos*; 14 *meorum*; VIII. 1. 1 *meis*; VIII. 16. 1 (Sel. 58) *meorum*; IX. 36. 4 (Sel. 70) *meis*; IX. 37. 3 *meis*. But in X. 15 (Sel. 81) *meis* includes the governor's wife and official as well as personal retinue.

8. non legendos libros sed lectitandos: so Lord Bacon says in the essay *Of Studies*, 'Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested.'

9. dormitorium membrum, *a sleeping room*: cf. § 22 *cubiculum noctis et somni*; v. 6. 21 *dormitorium cubiculum*; and on *membrum* as 'a room,' Cic. *Qu. Fr.* III. 1. 2 *cubicula et eius modi membra.*

suspensus et tubulatus, *with a hollow floor and piped walls.* Rooms from the first century B.C. were often heated by heating the floor and walls. To this end the floor (of cement, mosaic, or tiles, or stone slabs laid in cement) was supported on very short pillars of masonry, and into the space thus left the heated air (and smoke) from the furnace was conducted, finally to make its exit to the outer air through the many small vertical flues of tiling that were laid under the plaster or incrustation of the walls of the room, and communicated below with the sub-floor space. These hollow floors were called *suspensurae*. Sometimes the walls were made entirely hollow in similar fashion, by the use of *tegulae mammatae*. Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 90. 25 *suspensuras balneorum et impressos parietibus tubos per quos circumfunderetur calor qui ima simul ac summa foueret aequaliter*; and the inscr. quoted in Borghesi *Oeuvres* VI. p. 83 IDEM · BALNEVM · SVSPENDIT · TVBV | [LAVITQVE].—In this instance an intervening passageway only was thus heated, the air from this warmed room passing into the sleeping-room on the one side and the semicircular study on the other (*huc illuc*).

plerisque: neut. abl. absolute.

10. ex alio latere: the visitor is supposed to return now to the dining-room (§ 5), and to start in the opposite direction, toward the northwest.

cubiculum politissimum: on this side of the main suite of public rooms (described in §§ 4 and 5) are the rooms occupied by guests, and the most of the apartments, gardens, porticoes, etc., used by Pliny himself. The first *cubiculum* was apparently a guests' parlour, as was also the second, if not used as a small dining-room.

plurimo sole, plurimo mari lucet: having windows on at least the southwest side, facing the sea directly, and perhaps also on the northwest side, commanding a view of the coast northward. Some part of the wall to the northeast may also have been pierced with windows, admitting the morning sun to some degree.

post: *i.e.* on the landward side of the *cenatio*, which is treated as fronting the sea, the mention of which immediately precedes.

cum procoetone, *with an anteroom.*

subductum omnibus uentis: *sc.* on the southeastern and southwestern sides by the *caldarium* (§ 5; perhaps with its adjacent rooms), and by the *cubicula* just mentioned; on the northeastern side by the *cubiculum* and *procoeton* the mention of which follows.

11. cella frigidaria: the usual apartments of a Roman bath were the cold-room (*frigidarium*), the warm-room (*tepidarium*), and the hot-room (*caldarium*), the last regularly in closest proximity to the furnace (*hypocaustum*). These rooms might be accompanied by a dressing-room (*apodyterium*), a massage-room (*unctorium*), a sweating-room (*Laconicum*), and the like.

spatiosa et effusa: the cold-rooms of baths seem to have been usually considerably smaller than the warmer rooms.

baptisteria, *plunge-baths.*

uelut electa sinuantur, *curve forward as if squeezed out of the wall.* Pliny's effort after a new figure is, as usual, not particularly happy, but he seems to be thinking of the curve that a straight, but elastic, strip of wood or metal assumes when its ends are brought nearer together than in a state of rest.

abunde capacia: *sc.* for those desiring a cold plunge.

unctorium: in this (warmer) room the bather was rubbed with perfumed oils before or after the bath, or both before and after.

hypocauston, *the furnace*: where the water was heated for the warm and hot baths, and whence the hot air, mixed with smoke and flame, found its way under the floors and through the walls of the closely adjacent hot and warm rooms; cf. § 9 n. *suspensus et tubulatus.*

propnigeon: (Lat. *praefurnium*) apparently the small room immediately communicating with the furnace. In it stood the (bronze) boilers in which the water was heated for the hot and warm baths; cf. the Stabian baths at Pompeii.

duae cellae: *sc.* the *cella caldaria* and the *cella tepidaria*, the latter of which apparently served also as *apodyterium*, the suite being usually entered from this end, and not from that which Pliny, describing the rooms in order from the westward, takes up first.

calida: *sc.* only in contrast with the sea, which those would use who preferred a cold swim. And, indeed, it is not at all likely that the swimming-tank was under cover, as many people have supposed: cf. (of Pliny's Tuscan villa) v. 6. 25 *si natare latius aut tepidius uelis* [*sc.* than in the *baptisterium* of the *frigidarium*] *in area piscina est.*

mare aspiciunt: hardly through large and low glazed windows, as the editors would have it, but because the *piscina* was open, at least on the side toward the sea.

12. sphaeristerium, *a ball-ground.* The various games of ball were favourite forms of exercise among the Romans, and fields, or courts, especially arranged for such games formed a frequent adjunct to both private and public baths: cf. also v. 6. 27 (of Pliny's Tuscan villa) *apodyterio superpositum est sphaeristerium, quod plura genera exercitationis pluresque circulos capit*; III. 1. 8 (Sel. 23) n. *mouetur pila.*

inclinato die. *in the afternoon*; cf. v. 6. 31 *porticus ante medium diem hiberna, inclinato die aestiua*; VII. 27. 2 (Sel. 54); Cic. *De Or.* III. 17 *inclinato iam in pomeridianum tempus die* (and *Tusc.* III. 7).

hic: *i.e.* at the end of the range of apartments extending northwestward, and sheltering the *piscina* and the *sphaeristerium* from the northeast winds. The *turris* evidently stood so far northward that the view of the sea from it was not impeded by the *cubicula* of § 10.

diaetae, *apartments*: cf. § 20.

in ipsa: *i.e.* in the second story, where apparently was also the *cenatio*, quite after that fashion of the Romans mentioned by Varro (*L.L.* v. 162 *posteaquam in superiore parte cenitare coeperunt, superioris domus universa cenacula dicta*; cf. also Fest. p. 54; Gloss. Labb. s. u. *coenaculum*). For instances in Pompeii see Mau *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*, pp. 267 ff.

quae latissimum mare, etc.: from its position in the second story this dining-room would probably overlook the roofs of the apartments to the south of it, and command a clear sweep of sea and shore.

13. alia turris: the position of this tower is left uncertain, for it is apparently mentioned out of order, because of its similarity to the former tower. But since it adjoined (as the first tower did not) the *gestatio* and *hortus*, which were sheltered from the sea by a long *cryptoporticus* (§ 18), this second tower must have lain further to the east than the first.

post: *i.e.* on the landward side, as before. The three apartments of the second story of the second tower correspond in number, though not in use, to those of the first.

apotheca et horreum, *a wine-closet and a larder.*

sub hoc: therefore on the ground floor, and cut off from the sea by the main range of apartments (§ 4 f.) and by the long *cryptoporticus.*

gestationem: cf. I. 3. 1 (Sel. 3) n. *gestatio.*

14. qua parte defenditur tectis: *sc.* the side of the *gestatio* that ran close to the long *cryptoporticus*, which extended to the northwestward, between it and the sea.

15. cingitur ... a tergo: this *cenatio* therefore was probably situated at the northeast corner of the main building, with its windows (in the northwestern wall) opening upon the garden. The two *diaetae* must have bounded the two inner walls of the *cenatio*, each to each. They were thus adjacent also to the *atrium* of § 4, with which they doubtless communicated. The former of the two lay thus to the southeast of the *cenatio*, and its southeastern wall formed the wall of the *fauces* which led from the front door of the house into the *atrium*. The latter bounded the *cenatio* on the southwest and the *atrium* on the northwest, and its windows opened upon a vegetable garden, which apparently lay in the triangular space left mainly between the *cryptoporticus* to the southwest, the *diaeta* and *cenatio* to the southeast, and the sweep of the (probably oval; cf. v. 6. 17 *gestatio in modum circi*) *gestatio* to the north.

quarum fenestris: *sc.* respectively.

uestibulum: as regularly, not an entrance-hall, but the space of ground before the villa,—the 'front-door-yard'; cf. the citations in Marquardt *Privatleben d. Römer*,[2] p. 224 f.

16. hinc: *i e.* from beside the *hortus rusticus*, and therefore quite a little to the westward of the *cenatio.*

cryptoporticus: a *porticus* (cf. I. 3 1 n.,—Sel. 3) walled, not on one side only, but on both, forming thus a completely closed passage.

prope publici operis: *sc.* by reason of its size; cf. Plaut. *Most.* 908 f. On the construction cf. II. 1. 9 (Sel. 15) n. *huius aetatis.*

extenditur: *sc.* to the northwestward, between the *gestatio* (§ 13) to the east and the *xystus* (§ 17) to the west, leading to the apartments described in §§ 20 ff.

alternis: sc. *fenestris*: there are windows on both sides,—more on the side toward the sea, fewer on the side toward the garden, but even here a single window for every second one on the opposite side.

17. ante: *i.e.* as before, toward the sea, the long *cryptoporticus* protecting it toward the northeast.

xystus, *a garden-walk, a terrace*: cf. Vitruv. v. 11. 4 *hypaethroe ambulationes, quas Graeci παραδρόμιδας, nostri xysta appellant*; Plin. *Ep.* v. 6. 16 *ante porticum xystus in plurimas species distinctus concisusque buxo.*

repercussu auget: cf. § 7 *solem accendit.*

tenet solem: cf. § 7 *solem continet.*

aquilonem: a wind somewhat to the east of north, as *Africus* was one somewhat to the west of south; cf. Pl. *N.H.* II. 119; Sen. *Q.N.* V. 16: Hor. *Carm.* I. 3. 12 f. *praecipitem Africum | decertantem Aquilonibus.*

retro: *i.e.* on the northeast side.

20. in capite xysti, deinceps cryptoporticus, horti: *i.e.* the terrace, and the cryptoporticus and garden that lay successively behind it, are crowned and capped by a suite of apartments, the main axis of which apparently was at right angles to the axis of the *xystus*, etc. Some editors, however, following Keil, bracket *cryptoporticus, horti*, taking these words to be an ancient gloss suggested by *deinceps*, which they must hold to be hardly different from *autem.*

diaeta, *a suite of apartments*: cf. § 12 and V. 6. 31 *hac [porticu] adeuntur diaetae duae, quarum in altera cubicula quattuor, altera tria.*

amores mei, *my pet*: the word occurs not infrequently from Plautus downward, especially in colloquial usage, for an animate object of affection; but Pliny is perhaps the first writer to extend its use, somewhat fantastically, to an inanimate thing (as he also uses *deliciae*; cf. I. 3. 1 n.,—Sel. 3). With the form of the phrase *amores mei, re uera amores, —ipse posui* cf. III. 9. 37 *epistulae finis, re uera finis,—litteram non addam.*

heliocaminus, (Lat. *solarium*) *a sun-parlour*, which evidently occupied the southwest end of the *diaeta.* In city-houses a *solarium* on the house-top might serve; cf. Marquardt *Privatl.*[2] p. 247 n. 7.

alia ... alia ... utraque: sc. *fenestra*, which appears below, in the mention of the view from the single window of the *cubiculum.*

cubiculum: this 'sitting-room,' or 'study' apparently occupied the middle portion of the *diaeta*, and its single window, which apparently was in its outer wall to the westward of the projecting *zotheca*, commanded a view of the sea and coast to the northwestward and northward of the villa.

21. contra parietem medium, *in the middle of the wall*: *sc.* of the free, northwestern, wall opposite the door into the *cryptoporticus*; with this use of the preposition cf. § 5 n. *contra*.

zotheca, *an alcove*: apparently like a right-angled bay-window, and just large enough to hold a reading-couch parallel to the outer wall, with its head to the northeast, and two easy-chairs: cf. v. 6. 38 *zothecula refugit [a cubiculo] quasi in cubiculum idem atque aliud*. Sidonius uses the diminutive of a bookcloset (*Ep.* VIII. 16. 3; IX. 11. 6).

specularibus: perhaps the glazed frames (cf. § 4 n.) were not movable (as frequently in the case of the partitions dividing the *tablinum* from the peristyle in an ordinary house), but were fixed, forming, however, only the parts of the partition at the extreme right and left, the middle part being closed only by curtains (**uelis**). The words **obductis reductisue** would then apply more grammatically than in fact to the complete partition (**specularibus et uelis**). Being glazed, the *specularia* would admit light from the *zotheca* into the *cubiculum*, which was otherwise lighted by only a single window.

cathedras: easy-chairs, with long, sloping backs, but apparently without arms. They were earlier considered more fit for women (cf. III. 16. 12,—Sel. 28) than for men, but Pliny (VIII. 21. 2) makes his auditors comfortable in them at a recitation of his poems in his own dining-room. Seneca (*Clem.* I. 9. 7) mentions them as if ordinary furniture, as here, of a *cubiculum*.

a pedibus: *sc.* as the reader lay upon the couch, supported, as usual, upon the left arm, and facing toward the southeast.

a tergo uillae: *sc.* along the coast to the northward; cf. § 27.

a capite siluae: *sc.* to the eastward: cf. § 5 n. *siluas*.

22. cubiculum noctis et somni: *i.e.* a bed-chamber; cf. § 9 *dormitorium membrum*.

tam alti . quod, *its characteristic of such deep and perfect solitude is due to the fact that*.

androu, *a passage-way*: cf. Vitruu. VI. 7. 5 *inter duo peristyla ad hospitalia itinera sunt quae mesauloe dicuntur ...; nostri autem eas andronas appellant.*

omnem sonum: for from the outer side of the building no noise was to be apprehended.

23. hypocauston: cf. § 11 n. *hypocauston.*

fenestra: probably like a small door, serving the purpose of a modern 'hot-air register,' and communicating with the *andron*, which was *suspensus et tubulatus* like the *transitus interiacens* of § 9.

procoeton inde et cubiculum: these apartments evidently occupied the northeastern end of the suite, communicating with the *cubiculum* of § 20 by the *andron.*

24. Saturnalibus: this festival in honour of Saturn was originally observed on a single day only (Dec. 17) in each year, but popular gaiety refused to be so limited, and extended the celebration over the following week. Legally Augustus had made the festival three days long, which number was later increased to five. During the Saturnalia general joy and license prevailed, friends exchanged gifts, slaves were allowed the privileges of free men, and a number of other customs prevailed which have come down in the Christmas and Yule-tide festivals of the Christian Church.

meorum: cf. § 7 n. *meorum.*

25. aqua salienti, *running water.*

ac potius: cf. II. 13. 3 n. (Sel. 19) *ac potius.*

in summo, *at the surface* (of the ground): while in wells (*putei*) the water did not usually rise so high.

leuiter corruptus: *i.q.* brackish; cf. *Bell. Alex.* 6. 3 *illa* [*aqua*] *inferior corruptior iam salsiorque reperiebatur.*

26. Ostiensis colonia: Ostia, the very ancient settlement and harbour at the mouth of the Tiber, is said to have been founded as a colony of Rome by Ancus Marcius. The emperor Claudius constructed a spacious and magnificent port on the opposite side of the Tiber (*Portus Augusti*: mod. Porto), which was improved by Trajan, and from that time the settlement of Ostia declined in importance, and Procopius in the sixth century speaks of it as almost deserted. Its ruined warehouses and other buildings are now among the most interesting and important remains in the neighbourhood of Rome. Cf. *inter alia* Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, ch. IX.

uicus: probably the *Augustanus uicus* near the modern Castel Porziano: it lay within the territorial limits of

the ancient Laurentum: cf. Dessau in *C.I.L.* XIV. p. 183, 486.

meritoria: *i.e.* open for the use of the public upon the payment of a fee. The existence of as many as three such establishments in what must have been a small village is an indication of the popularity of the bath among the Romans of this period.

27. siue mari, etc.: *i.e.* whether one coasts along the shore in a boat or walks upon the shore itself.

quod, etc.: *i.e.* the sand grows dry and yielding in continued fair weather, but is hardened to a pleasant surface for walking by the waves driven upon it by the winds blowing directly from the sea toward the shore.

contrarius: the adjective seems not to denote specifically the beating of the waves 'against' the beach, but to be borrowed from the aspect of the wind that would drive the waves far up on the beach. The rise and fall of the tide was apparently too slight to leave a damp strip of sand in suitable condition for easy walking.

28. soleas, *soles*.

squillas: apparently 'lobsters,' rather than, as has been suggested, 'shrimps' or 'prawns.'

mediterraneas: so that the villa, though directly on the seashore, commands all the advantages of an inland position.

29. iustisne, etc.: cf. similar rhetorical challenges at the conclusion of a letter in III. 16. 13 (Sel. 28) *uidenturne*; III. 21. 6 (Sel. 29) *meritone*; where also, as here (and not very rarely from Plautus downward) *-ne* is used where *nonne* might be expected: add *e.g.* *Pan.* 83 *iustisne de causis senatus populusque Romanus optimi tibi cognomen adiecit?*

de causis: cf. I. 2. 6 (Sel. 2) n. *ex causis*.

incolere secessum: so of the seaside villa of Verginius Rufus in VI. 10. 1 (Sel. 44).

22. (II. 20.)

Three anecdotes of Regulus.—The correspondent to whom this letter is addressed is C. Calusius Rufus. His *praenomen* is known from the reference to him in IV. 4. 1, where he is mentioned as the maternal uncle of a certain Varisidius Nepos; his cognomen, from the address of III. 19 and the index to Book III. in *codex* B. He was a member of the municipal council in Comum, Pliny's native place (V. 7. 3, 4), and, from the letters addressed to him, apparently one of

Pliny's most trusted friends throughout his maturer life, though he appears nowhere else in history or literature.—On the date of the letter see § 12 n. *iam pridem*.

1. assem para: the function of the wandering story-teller, who subsisted on the minute alms of his auditors, dates back at least to the times of the epic rhapsodists, and has not yet been entirely superseded by printing in southern Europe and among Eastern nations. The first sentence of the letter perhaps is framed in imitation of the cry by which the audience was summoned.

auream: implying superlative excellence, as frequently in the poets, and apparently colloquially. With its application to a story, cf. the *Asinus Aureus* of Apuleius.

2. Pisonis: sc. *uxor*, as not infrequently in the poets and other writers of the empire; and also in early inscriptions, and in legal documents: cf. VI. 16. 8 (Sel. 45) † *Rectinae Tasci* (sc. *uxor*); X. 5. 2 *Thermuthin Theonis* (sc. *uxor*); but X. 11. 2 *Chrysippo Mithridatis* ⟨sc. *filio*⟩, *uxorique Chrysippi, Stratonicae Epigoni* ⟨sc. *filiae*⟩.

iacebat, *was ill*: cf. I. 12. 6 (Sel. 8) n. *iacentem*.

quem Galba adoptauit: as his heir upon his elevation to the throne. Both were murdered five days after the adoption, Jan. 15, A.D. 69: cf. Tac. *Hist.* I. 14 ff., 27 ff.; Plut. *Galba, ad fin.*; Suet. *Galba* 17, 19; Dio Cass. LXIV. 4-6.

impudentiam: accusative of exclamation.

3. esto, si uenit tantum, *that might pass, if he merely called*.

quo die, qua hora nata esset: the necessary data for the calculation of an astrological horoscope, in the prophetic value of which Regulus, given as he was to all sorts of superstitions (cf. § 13; VI. 2. 2,—Sel. 41) may have had a genuine belief. Practitioners of astrology had made their way to Rome before the time of Ennius, and in spite of severe repressive measures adopted repeatedly by the government, the art seems to have gained constantly in its hold upon the people. For details see the article *Astrologia* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopaedie*.

componit uultum: *i.e.* puts on the set look of a man wrapped in deep cogitation.

agitat digitos, computat: the Romans, like the Greeks and Orientals, had an elaborate system of finger-reckoning, the details of which are known to us chiefly through the works of Nicholas of Smyrna (ἡ ἔκφρασις δακτυλικοῦ μέτρου) and of Beda (*De loquela per gestum digitorum et temporum ratione*).

The nine units and nine tens could be denoted by eighteen positions of the fingers of the left hand, and the nine hundreds and nine thousands by corresponding positions of the fingers of the right hand. From ten thousand up to a million the sums were denoted by the position of one hand or the other with reference to the body. Cf. Jahn's *Jahrbücher*, XV. Suppl.-Bd. (1849), pp. 511 ff.; Mayor on Iuu. 10. 249.

habes climactericum tempus, *you are at a critical period*: here not one of the climacterics common to all (at seven years of age and its multiples, especially sixty-three; Gell. III. 10; XV. 7), but an especial one, to be determined and decided only by the individual horoscope.

4. haruspicem: his especial form of divination was by the inspection of the entrails of a slain sacrificial victim, though he might also prescribe what should be done to avert the evils foretold by any prodigies, and especially might interpret lightning-flashes.

5. ut in periculo credula, *with the credulity natural to one in peril.*

codicillos, *her will*: (apparently so, as also in VI. 31. 7) but perhaps the word is used here simply of wax-tablets (=*pugillares*; cf. I. 6. 1 n.,—Sel. 5).

hominem: the construction is a vivid adaptation of the actual accusative of exclamation to that of the direct object of *clamat*: cf. Liv. XXI. 62. 2 *infantem triumphum clamasse* (in direct form '*triumpe*').

per salutem filii: ordinary forms of legal oaths also were *per deum, per caput suum, per capita filiorum suorum* (see *Dig.* XII. 2. 3. 4). Regulus, having an only son, swore most dramatically by that which was presumably most precious to him.

6. in caput infelicis pueri: the boy died not long after (cf. IV. 2, 7,—Sels. 30, 31), but perhaps not as the victim of his father's perjuries.

7. Velleius Blaesus; not otherwise known.

ex nouis tabulis: apparently a sportive use of the familiar expression for a repudiation of debts.

captare: both this word of hunting, and the similar *uenari*, are used of the operations of legacy-hunters: cf. (of Regulus with reference to his own son) IV. 2. 2 (Sel. 30); VIII. 18. 2 *cum se captandum praebuisset reliquit filium heredem.*

8. inuidetis bonam mortem: on the construction cf. I. 10. 12 (Sel. 7) n. *bonum*. A 'good death' is evidently a swift,

and therefore comparatively painless one; cf. Plin. *N.H.* VII. 180 *mortes repentinae, hoc est, summa uitae felicitas.*

tantulum, apparently a proverbial ellipsis (sc. *legauit*), spoken δεικτικῶς, with a snap of the finger.

9. scholastica lege, *after the norm of the schools*: in whose trite and jejune rhetorical teaching completion and roundness were found in triplets. Quintilian criticizes this fashion in *Inst. Orat.* IV. 5. 3.

10. ornata femina, *a woman of wealth.*

pulcherrimas: for the occasion was made a social function, and the testator's friends were invited: cf. I. 9. 2 n. (Sel. 6).

tunicas: even Roman matrons at this period often discarded the heavy and somewhat clumsy *palla* and *stola* of their ancestors, and wore habitually over the short-sleeved *tunica interior* a second tunic (*tunicopallium*) which was arranged and draped after the fashion of the Greek doubled χιτών or πέπλος. This outer garment, like the inner, might be made of the most delicate and costly silk, brocaded with gold and elaborately embroidered. In Aurelian's time the finest silk was sold for its weight in gold (Vopisc. *Aurel.* 45. 5).

has: sc. *tunicas* (*leges* being a verb).

11. ne multa: sc. *dicam.*

tabulas: i.q. *codicillos* in § 5, 'her will.'

quas erat induta: similar constructions of the accusative with the passive, more frequently of verbs denoting the putting on or off of clothing, begin in prose with Sallust, and are found in many writers from Livy downward.

tanquam morituram: and so seemed to anticipate her death, which was an ominous act.

coegit: with the accusative of the person and of a neuter pronoun: cf. VIII. 6. 3 *nemo tam miser est ut illa cogatur*, and other writers *passim.*

hereditates, legata: the former word denotes the inheritance of a sole (*heres ex asse*) or proportional heir (*heres ex besse*, etc.), the latter that of the legatee of a specific object or sum.

12. ἀλλὰ τί διατείνομαι, *but why do I trouble myself?* The expression is perhaps proverbial, but its source is unknown. It is also possible that Pliny occasionally drags in a Greek phrase in blind imitation of the style of Cicero's letters.

iam pridem: the tone of the complaint, so different from the way in which Pliny speaks of the cheering condition of

society under Nerva and Trajan, has led more than one critic (so *e.g.* Peter, Asbach, Schultz) to believe that this letter was written in the reign of Domitian.

18. ad tantas opes: cf. I. 5. 15 (Sel. 4) n. *locuples*.

consuleret: sc. *exta per haruspicem*.

sestertium sescenties: (sc. *centena milia*) about £662,000 or $3,250,000.

exta duplicia: the liver seems to have been the organ especially open to this 'duplication' of lobes: cf. *e.g.* the instances cited (with similar method of interpretation) in Plin. *N.H.* XI. 189 f.; Val. Max. I. 6. 9.

14. falsi, *forgery*.

LIBER III.

23. (III. 1.)

THE old age of Spurinna.—On C. Caluisius Rufus, to whom this letter is addressed, see introd. note to II. 20 (Sel. 22).—Pliny characterizes the proper life of the old also in IV. 23. 1, and describes that of his great uncle in III. 5 (Sel. 24), and his own extra-urban life in IX. 36 (Sel. 70) and IX. 40 (Sel. 72).

1. nescio an: with an inclination towards negation; cf. I. 15. 3 (Sel. 10) n. *nescio an*. Cicero would doubtless have written *nullum* instead of *ullum*, with his usual inclination of *nescio an* toward the affirmative.

Spurinnam: Vestricius Spurinna had served as *legatus legionis* of Otho against the Vitellians (Tac. *Hist.* II. 11, 18, 23, 36; Plut. *Otho* 5-7), and under Nerva had won triumphal decorations as governor of Lower Germany (II. 7; Tac. *Germ.* 33). His last public service was either this (in 97), or perhaps a (third?) consulship (in 100). Pliny addresses only two letters to him, one (III. 10) on a memoir composed by Pliny of Spurinna's deceased son (cf. II. 7. 3), and the other (V. 17) on a literary success of a Calpurnius Piso. Nothing further is known of his career. The four poems attributed to him by Barth (Riese *Anth. Lat.* 918-921) are undoubtedly spurious.

datum est: the perfect tense of a thing determined long in advance by fate; cf. VI. 16. 3 (Sel. 45) *quibus deorum*

munere datum est, etc.; VII. 19. 7 (Sel. 50) *quod paucis datum est, non minus amabilis quam ueneranda*; VIII. 18. 5 *fuit quasi fato datum ut diuites fierent.*

distinctius, *more carefully ordered.*

2. nam iuuenes, etc.; one of Pliny's not infrequent formalities: cf. Introd. p. xxxiv.

industria, *activity.*

3. hanc, haec, *the following.*

parua, etc.: *i.e.* they might be judged trifles, were it not that daily life is made up of them; but cf. the different sentiment in I. 9. 3 (Sel. 6).

4. mane lectulo continetur: *i.e.* instead of receiving visits of ceremony, or paying them, in the early morning hours. Cf. Pliny's own habit in his Tuscan summer-home; IX. 36. 1, 2 (Sel. 70). The *lectulus* is probably the sofa for use by day, not the bed.

calceos poscit: having been barefooted in his own study: cf. (of the elder Pliny) VI. 16. 5 (Sel. 45) *iacens studebat: poscit soleas, ascendit locum ex quo*, etc.; and of guests at a dinner, IX. 17. 3 *quam multi, cum lector aut lyristes aut comoedus inductus est, calceos poscunt.*

ambulat milia passuum tria: *i.e.* makes the fixed number of laps on a measured *ambulatio* or *gestatio* in his own garden; cf. I. 3. 1 (Sel. 3) n. *gestatio.*

honestissimi: *i.e.* on lofty themes, not mere frivolous chit-chat. The formality of the verb **explicantur** also emphasises the gravity of the conversation.

liber legitur: *sc.* by the regular *lector*, who doubtless walked by his side.

5. considit: probably on one of the garden seats.

liber, sermo: the free ellipsis of verbs is one of the most characteristic touches of Pliny's style; cf. Kraut pp. 46, 47; Lagergren p. 42 f.

uehiculum ascendit: the drive was doubtless around the *hippodromos*, or perhaps around the same measured *gestatio* on which he had walked (cf. § 4 n. *ambulat ... tria*).

uxorem singularis exempli, *his wife, a model woman*: cf. VIII. 5. 1 *uxorem singularis exempli*, and II. 1. 9 (Sel. 15) n. *huius aetatis.*

6. secretum, *tête-à-tête*: cf. I. 5. 11 (Sel. 4) n. *secretum.*

quantum ibi antiquitatis, *how perfect a picture there of ancient days*: probably referring to the character of Spurinna as shown in such intimate conversations, rather than to his

objective picturing of ancient times; cf. II. 2. 4 *uir sanctus, antiquus*; V. 14. 3 (Sel. 38) *quid* ⟨*Cornuto*⟩ *in omni genere laudis ad exemplum antiquitatis expressius?* (The meaning in I. 22. 2 *quantum rerum, quantum exemplorum, quantum antiquitatis tenet* ⟨*Artemidorus*⟩ is different).

quamuis, etc.: *though he has put such restraint upon his modesty as not to appear didactic.* One might rather expect Pliny to say that Spurinna's modesty had put a restraint upon him,—but he has some non-Ciceronian fondness for even illogical epigrams. The ne-clause, however translated, is a clause of purpose.

7. utraque lingua: *sc.* Latin or Greek; elsewhere Pliny uses the phrase in immediate connection with the specific mention of both languages (*e.g.* II. 14. 6,—Sel. 20; VII. 25. 4); but cf. Hor. *Carm.* III. 8. 5 *docte sermones utriusque linguae*; Plin. *N.H.* XII. 11 *platanus insignis utriusque linguae monimentis*; and other writers not infrequently.

lyrica: as a substantive almost unique except here and in VII. 17. 3 and IX. 22. 2. Georges cites Lact. V. 13. 16 *Flaccus in lyricis.*

doctissima: no quality could be further from excellence in the case of lyric verse; but Catullus, and the later poets who were tinged with Alexandrianism, were called *docti*, and Pliny's deferential taste adopts the false catch-words of his beloved antiquity. He probably means that Spurinna's poems were a revamping in theme and style of the *amatores Euphorionis* of the earlier day.

dulcedo, suauitas, hilaritas, gratiam, *sweetness, smoothness, piquancy, charm.* The lyrics were, then, on amatory themes, and not of the chastest sort. The claim that literature is not concerned with morality is modern as well as ancient, and the especial vogue of morally objectionable writing among the peoples who trace a linguistic descent from the ancient Romans is perhaps due to an inherited defect of ethical as of esthetic nature. But it is remarkable that Pliny finds the charm of such risqué compositions actually enhanced by the chaste life of the aged poet. See Pliny's defence of his own writings of similar character in V. 3 (Sel. 36); IV. 14. 4, 5; and cf. Cat. 16. 5-8 *nam castum esse decet pium poetam* | *ipsum, uersiculos nihil necesse est,* | *qui tum denique habent salem ac leporem,* | *si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici*; Ov. *Trist.* II. 353 ff. *credite mihi, distant mores a carmine nostro*; | *uita uerecunda est, Musa iocosa mea*, etc.; Sen. *Contr.* VI. 8 *quid tu putas, quae sentiunt, scribere? uixit molliter, castigate*; Mart. I. 4. 8 *lasciua est nobis pagina, uita proba*; Hadr. ap.

Apul. *Apol.* 11 *lasciuus uersu, mente pudicus eras*; Rob. Herrick *To his book's end this last line he'd have placed,* | *Jocund his Muse was, but his life was chaste.* But Seneca *Ep.* 114. 3 *non potest alius esse ingenio, alius animo color.*

8. hora: the hours, being twelfths of the time from sunrise to sunset, or from sunset to sunrise, varied, for the latitude of Rome, from about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mean hour (at the winter solstice) to $1\frac{1}{4}$ mean hours at the summer solstice.

balinei: Celsus lays down the proper order, I. 2 *prima ⟨corporis⟩ curatio exercitatio est, quae semper antecedere cibum debet . . . commode uero exercent clara lectio, arma, pila, cursus, ambulatio . . . melior, si caput patitur, in sole quam in umbra . . . exercitationem recte sequitur modo unctio . . . modo balneum . . . post haec paulum conquiescere opus est. ubi ad cibum uentum est*, etc.

in sole ambulat nudus: such sun-baths have been a not uncommon prescription of physicians in various ages, and form an important part of some 'cures' of the present day. It seems to have been the aged and the luxurious who affected the sun-bath in Rome; cf. Iuu. 11. 203 *bibat uernum cuticula solem*; and Mayor's note thereupon. But cf. the custom of the elder Pliny in III. 5. 10 (Sel. 24): VI. 16. 5 (Sel. 45).

mouetur pila, *he takes exercise by playing ball*: with the verb in this middle sense cf. Cels. I. 6 *ambulatione dimoueri*; IV. 10 *per manus exerceri*. The *pila* was a small hand-ball, stuffed with hair and covered often with brightly coloured materials. Various games, of greater or less activity, were played with it, requiring from one player to several. The resemblance of them to modern games of ball is noteworthy (cf. Marquardt *Privatl. d. Röm.*[2] pp. 842 ff.; Baumeister *Denkmäler* p. 247). Games of ball were a favourite form of active exercise among Romans of advanced as well as of adolescent years; cf. II. 17. 12 (Sel. 21) n. *sphaeristerium*; Hor. *Sat.* I. 6. 125 f. *ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lauatum* | *admonuit, fugio campum lusumque trigonem*; I. 5. 48 f. *lusum it Maecenas, dormitum ego Vergiliusque*; | *namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis*; Sid. Ap. *Ep.* I. 8. 2 *rerum omnium lege peruersa . . . student pilae senes, aleae iuuenes.*

pugnat cum senectute: see the precepts of Cicero in *Sen.* 35 *resistendum ... senectuti est, ... pugnandum tanquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem*, etc.

lotus accubat: cf. the same phrase in VI. 16. 12 (Sel. 45) *lotus accubat, cenat.* On the verb see II. 6. 3 (Sel. 16) n. *recumbebat.*

paulisper cibum differt: so Celsus advises, *l.c.*

legentem: *sc.* the professional *lector*, as above; cf. I. 15. 2 (Sel. 10) n. *lectorem.*

9. cena: dinner was generally served about the ninth or tenth hour, and with its several courses, *ab ouo usque ad mala*, and its frequently following *conuiuium* might last well into the evening (in special cases till late at night, or even till dawn): cf. also I. 15. 1 (Sel. 10) n. *nec id modicum.*—Pliny mentions no *ientaculum* or *prandium* (cf. of the elder Pliny, III. 5. 10,—Sel. 24), but we are not necessarily to suppose that Spurinna ate but one meal a day. Old men, like children, were advised by the physicians to eat simple food, but more frequently than those in the vigour of youth and middle age (cf. Cels. I. 3), and Spurinna may have taken a light *ientaculum* after his early walk (§ 4), and a light *prandium* after the later walk (§ 7). Yet Celsus allows vigorous old men to follow the same rule in eating as those in middle age, and to these he recommends only one meal a day (of course *cena*) in winter, though considering the addition of a second meal (*prandium*) to be advisable in summer (Cels. *l.c.*). And the younger Pliny apparently was accustomed to but one meal a day (see IX. 36. 4,—Sel. 70,—n. *cenanti*). No siesta (*meridiatio*) is mentioned, but that is perhaps to be understood before the exercise that preceded dinner (§ 8; cf. III. 5. 11, —Sel. 24), though Spurinna did not rise early, like the elder Pliny, and even the younger Pliny omitted the midday sleep in winter (IX. 40. 2,—Sel. 72). Cf. also III. 5. 11 (Sel. 24) n. *dormiebat.*

argento puro: *i.e.* plain (and therefore less expensive) silver plate, as distinguished from that which was decorated (*caelatum*; cf. *Dig.* VI. 1. 6) by engraving or embossing or by attached ornamentation (*sigilla, crustae, emblemata*; cf. Cic. *Verr.* II. IV. 48-52).

et antiquo, *and yet antique*; and therefore presumably prized and valuable,—though the most valuable ancient plate was *caelatum*; cf. Iuu. 1. 76; 12. 47; Hor. *Sat.* I. 3. 91; Mart. VIII. 6, where the rage for ancient plate is satirized. With **et** in this sense of *et tamen* cf. II. 6. 1 (Sel. 16) *lautum et diligentem*; III. 5. 17 (Sel. 24) *et tunc*; 16. 9 (Sel. 28) *et uinis*; IX. 25. 1 *quereris de turba castrensium negotiorum, et, tamquam summo otio perfruare, lusus et ineptias nostras legis*; and several other instances, especially in the Panegyric.

Corinthia (*sc. aera*, and cf. III. 6. 4): dishes of Corinthian bronze, which were also used for table-service; cf. Plin. *N.H.* XXXIV. 7 *sunt ergo uasa tantum Corinthia, quae isti elegantiores*

modo ad esculenta transferunt, modo in lucernas aut trulleos. Articles of this rare alloy, the art of compounding which was said to have been lost, were often comparable in value to those of the precious metals; cf. Plin. *l.c.* § 1 *aeris metalla, cui et in usu proximum est pretium immo uero ante argentum ac paene etiam ante aurum Corinthio.* The passion of the collector for Corinthian bronzes is a subject for the moralist and satirist from Cicero's time onward. The younger Pliny with all his wealth, had not a single Corinthian in his house, and purposed to give to some temple a statuette of that substance which he had bought from the proceeds of a legacy (III. 6).

quibus delectatur nec adficitur, *by which he is pleased but not swayed.* With *nec* in the sense of *nec tamen* cf. *et* in the sense of *et tamen* just above.

comoedis: cf. I. 15. 2 (Sel. 10) n. *comoedum.*

distinguitur: *i.e.* the recitations took place at intervals during the dinner, perhaps between the courses.

ut, etc. *that even pleasure may be spiced with letters.*

de nocte: contrary to the custom of a younger and busy man like the elder Pliny (III. 5. 13,—Sel. 24);—and even to the apparent practice of the younger Pliny (IX. 36. 4,—Sel. 70; IX. 40. 2,—Sel. 72).

et, *even*, as not infrequently in Pliny: cf. Kraut p. 28.

conuiuium: the after-dinner session over the wine (Grk. συμπόσιον); cf. III. 21. 5 (Sel. 29) n. *seras ad lucernas.*

10. ex senectute prudentia: cf. Cic. *Tusc.* I. 94 *nihil enim est profecto homini prudentia dulcius, quam, ut cetera auferat, adfert certe senectus.*

11. uoto et cogitatione praesumo, *I anticipate with eager imagination.*

ingressurus: the future participle thus stands not infrequently in Pliny in place of a clause.

ratio aetatis: cf. II. 14. 14 (Sel. 20) n. *ratio aetatis.*

receptui canere, *to sound a retreat*: a military term frequently used figuratively.

mille: cf. I. 15. 2 (Sel. 10) n. *mille.* Pliny had doubtless at this time his usual business in the management of his estates, which often wore upon him, and was engaged in more or less legal practice (cf. especially III. 4). He may also have been still in service as *praefectus aerarii Saturni.*

quoad honestum fuit: cf. § 2 *quibus industria sera, turpis ambitio est.*

obiit officia, *filled offices*: apparently distinguished from the regular offices of the senatorial *cursus honorum*, which are termed *ministeria*. So Pliny (and also Trajan) calls his prefecture of the treasury an *officium* (I. 10. 2,—Sel. 7; X. 3A. 1.—Sel. 75: 9.—Sel. 78), so the great curatorships (V. 14. 2.—Sel. 38: VII. 15. 1), so the prefecture of the fleet in the equestrian *cursus* (III. 5. 2.—Sel. 24). But yet in all these cases the word (though in the singular) has something left of the meaning 'duties' (as in a unique instance in Pliny, III. 18. 1 *officium consulatus iniunxit mihi ut*, etc.).

magistratus: in every definite instance in Pliny the word seems to be used of the higher regular offices (as distinct from the side-functions) in the senatorial *cursus* at Rome, or (except when distinctly specified otherwise,—as e.g., by *minores*) to the corresponding functions in the provinces.

provincias: it is quite possible that Spurinna may have been governor of other provinces than the one known to us (cf. § 1 n. *Spurinna*), but the plural may be rather complimentary than accurate.

12. igitur: Quintilian observes (I. 5. 39) that it is a question whether this particle should stand first in its clause, and that the practice of the best writers differed. Pliny shows no hesitation about placing it in the initial position; cf. also *e.g.* I. 19. 2; II. 6. 7 (Sel. 16); III. 15. 5; IV. 6. 3; *et al.*

eundem terminum: i.e. retirement as soon as industria is no longer *honesta* (§§ 2, 11).

id apud te subsigno: of making a sworn statement: cf. X. 4. 4 *subsigno apud te fidem pro moribus Romani mei.*

cum inertiae crimen effugero: cf. II. 14. 14 n. (Sel. 20).

24. (III. 5.)

The writings and manner of life of the elder Pliny.—Of Baebius Macer, to whom Pliny addresses this single letter, nothing further is known than that he was *consul designatus* about 103 or 104 (IV. 9. 16), and *praefectus urbi* under Hadrian in 117 (Spart. *Hadr.* 5. 5). But as this letter is on a subject of (literary) history one would like to connect him (in descent, if not identity) with the Baebius Macer quoted by Servius (*Aen.* V. 556; *Ecl.* 9. 46) as his authority on two events in the reign of Augustus.

1. auunculi mei: the main facts in the life of the elder Pliny (C. Plinius Secundus, a native of *Novum Comum*) are known to us from this letter, from some few scattered

references in other letters, from the detailed description of the circumstances attending his death in the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 (VI. 16,—Sel. 45), and from a brief biography prefixed to MSS. of his *Naturalis Historia* (§ 6), drawn from the work of Suetonius *De uiris illustribus* (cf. Reifferscheid *Suet. Rel.* p. 92). The younger Pliny was adopted by his uncle in his will (cf. V. 8. 5 *auunculus meus idemque per adoptionem pater historias et quidem religiosissime scripsit*: Intr p. xix). See notes *passim*.

3. de iaculatione equestri unus (sc. *liber*), *On the Use of the Javelin by Cavalry, One Book.* The earlier Roman cavalry, besides heavy defensive armour, including a shield, carried a long lance and a long sword (Polyb. VI. 25); by the time of Vespasian they had discarded the shield, contenting themselves with breastplates like those of the infantry, and had added to the long lance and sword three or more javelins, carried in a sort of quiver (Ios. *B. Iud.* III. 5. 5). This work of Pliny's, like all the others with the exception of the *Naturalis Historia* (§ 6), has perished.

praefectus alae: a candidate for official career in the equestrian order, above which the elder Pliny did not seek to rise, began, in the time of the empire, and before the reforms of Hadrian, by filling one or more military offices, in the infantry (as prefect or tribune of an auxiliary cohort, or tribune '*angusticlauius*' in the regular legion) or cavalry (as prefect of a squadron). Or he might serve as tribune in one of the city troops (*uigiles*, *cohortes urbanae*, *cohortes praetoriae*). Thence, at the age of thirty, or perhaps a little less, he might be advanced, through a number of the many procuratorships at home or abroad, to one (or more, successively) of the great prefectures, civil (*annonae*) or military (*classis Rauennatium*, *classis Misenatium*, *uigilum*, *Aegypti*, *praetorio*).

Pomponi Secundi: the elder Pliny refers to this biography in *N. H.* XIV. 56. Pomponius Secundus narrowly escaped death on the charge of being involved in the conspiracy of Sejanus (Dio LIX. 6; Tac. *Ann.* V. 8). The accession of Gaius brought him release from imprisonment and the friendship of the emperor and his successor. He was consul in 44, and as legate of Upper Germany received the insignia of a triumph under Claudius in 50 (Tac. *Ann.* XII. 27, 28). He wrote tragedies (VII. 17. 11), and Quintilian (X. 1. 98) calls him the best of the tragedians personally known to him, though remarking that his seniors thought the superiority of Pomponius lay in erudition and polish rather

than in the true tragic afflatus. Cf. also Pl. *N.H. passim.* **Tacitus** (*Ann.* v. 8) **calls him** ***multa morum elegantia et ingenio illustri.***

4. bellorum Germaniae: the work is cited by **Tacitus** (*Ann.* I. 69), and by Suetonius (*Cal.* 8), and must have served as the chief source for the *Germania* of Tacitus. Symmachus (*Ep.* IV. 18) speaks as if the German Wars was possibly lost by his day (end of the fourth century A.D.).

in Germania militaret: (sc. *inferiore*) under Domitius Corbulo, A.D. 47; cf. Plin. *N.H.* XVI. 2 with Tac. *Ann.* XI. 18.

somnio monitus: cf. I. 18. 1 (Sel. 12) n. *somnio.*

Drusi Neronis: Nero Claudius Drusus, son of Livia (wife of Augustus) and brother of the emperor Tiberius, at the age of 23 had advanced the limit of the Roman empire to the Danube on the northeast by the conquest of Rhaetia and Noricum (B.C. 15: cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV. 4, 14), and bade fair, by the successes of repeated campaigns, to make the Elbe its boundary to the northward, when he died at the early age of thirty, in the year of his consulship (B.C. 9), from the effects of a fall from his horse.

latissime uictor: cf. on the construction I. 2. 5 (Sel. 2) n. *fortasse errori*: Verg. *Aen.* I. 21 *populum late regem*: Hor. *Carm.* III. 17. 9 *late tyrannus*; IV. 4. 23 *late uictrices.* Drusus penetrated Germany further than any other Roman general.

adsereret: cf. I. 3. 3 (Sel. 3) n. *te studiis adseris.*

5. studiosi: perhaps nominative plural instead of genitive singular; cf. Gell. IX. 16. 1 *Plinius Secundus existimatus est esse aetatis suae doctissimus. is libros reliquit quos 'studiosorum' inscripsit, non medius fidius usquequaque aspernandos. in his libris multa uarie ad oblectandas eruditorum hominum aures ponit. refert etiam pleraque sententias quas in declamandis controuersiis lepide arguteque dictas putat.* Gellius goes on with quotations which show that the work was a practical handbook of rhetoric (oratory), with examples of moot-cases like those that have come down to us from the pen of the elder Seneca. It is mentioned also by Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* III. 1. 21; XI. 3. 143, 148).

uolumina: Callimachus is said to have introduced the fashion of the shorter rolls (*uolumina*) of papyrus which later substantially conditioned the length of each complete division (*liber*) of a given work; so that from Cicero's time *liber* and *uolumen* are often used synonymously (cf. Birt *Antike*

Buchwesen pp. 147 ff., 480 ff.; Marquardt *Privatleben*[2] p. 812). But here Pliny's *libri* must have been of nearly double the stock length, one of them substantially filling two rolls (*uolumina*); cf. also the *commentarios opisthographos* of § 17.

ab incunabulis instituit: as Quintilian also does in his *Institutio Oratoria* (cf. *procm.* 6 *libri quos ab ipsis dicendi uelut incunabulis per omnis . . . artis ad summam eius operis perducere destinabamus.*

dubii sermonis: a treatise on doubtful or objectionable inflectional forms, word-formation, and matters concerning the parts of speech. Pliny himself (*N.H.* praef. 28) refers to assaults projected upon this work (*libellos quos de grammatica edidi*); it was frequently cited and used till into the middle ages.

cum, etc.: cf. Tac. *Agr.* 6 *gnarus sub Nerone temporum quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit.* History, satire, and the like were dangerous fields of literature, though Persius managed to write with impunity what was said (Prob. *Vit. Pers.*) to be satire directed against Nero himself. Perhaps the emperor, like moderns, found difficulty in making it out. So Calpurnius wrote elegies and Seneca tragedies without challenge. But not even philosophy and rhetoric were always safe; cf. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 71 *Verginium Flauum et Musonium Rufum claritudo nominis expulit: nam Verginius studia iuuenum eloquentia, Musonius praeceptis sapientiae fouebat.*

liberius et erectius: cf. *Pan.* 85 *neque est ullus affectus tam erectus et liber et dominationis impatiens.*

6. a fine, *in continuation of*: apparently not an unusual form of title for the work of historians under the empire.

Aufidi Bassi: he was yet living, though in extreme weakness of body, when Seneca (A.D. 60) wrote *Ep.* 30. His work has disappeared, except for some fragments (in Senec. *Suas.*), and its points of beginning and ending are unknown. Quintilian says of him (x. 1. 103), *quam* ⟨*historiae auctoritatem*⟩ *Bassus Aufidius egregie praestitit, genere ipso probabilis in omnibus, sed in quibusdam suis ipse uiribus minor.*—Pliny refers to his own continuation in *N.H.* praef. 20, etc. Its chronological terminus is unknown.

naturae historiarum: extant, and called, in the dedicatory preface of the first book (to the emperor Titus, in 77 A.D.), *libri naturalis historiae*, whence the usual name by which it is cited. Perhaps the author published only the first ten books, the rest being issued after his death by the

younger Pliny. The work is a most diffuse and wearisome compilation of facts on innumerable subjects, gathered painfully from a vast number of authors and works (praef. 1.), and put together in a style often most exasperating for its crudity and blindness. The subject-matter is arranged under the heads of a general description of the world, geography, anthropology, physiology, zoölogy, botany (including farming and *materia medica*), anatomy and medicine, and finally mineralogy (including even, and most valuably, a history of art). Inaccuracies, irrationalities, and inconsistencies abound, and yet the work is of most immense value and interest.

7. actitasse: only here in Pliny, but a Ciceronian word.

anno sexto et quinquagensimo: Aug. 25, A.D. 79; cf. VI. 16. 17 n. (Sel. 45).

medium: *sc.* between his retirement from the bar and his death.

officiis: cf. III. 1. 11 (Sel. 23) n. *officia*.

amicitia principum: referring doubtless to Vespasian and Titus, and not to earlier rulers. On the *amicitia Caesaris* as denoting a semi- or wholly official relationship see Friedländer *Sittengesch.* I.[6] pp. 133 ff.

8. uigilantia: so Pliny says (*N.H.* praef. 18) that being *officiis occupati* he has compiled this work in the night hours, *profecto enim uita uigilia est*: but cf. § 9 n. *quod reliquum temporis*.

lucubrare, *to study by lamplight*.

Vulcanalibus: Aug. 23. The date is given by the sacred calendars, and the cult was a very old one in Rome, but almost nothing is known of it.

auspicandi causa, *for the sake of the* [*good*] *omen*: as farmers began labours on Jan. 1: cf. Colum. *R.R.* XI. 2. 98 *per hos quoque dies* [i.e. from the Kalends to the Ides of January] *abstinent terrenis operibus religiosiores agricolae, ita tamen ut ipsis Kalendis Ianuariis auspicandi causa omne genus operis instaurent*; Ov. *Fast.* I. 165 ff.: cf. II. 14. 2 (Sel. 20) n. *auspicari*. The phrase is apparently proverbial, but no other references to the beginning of fires or lights on the Vulcanalia appear to exist.

statim a nocte multa, *while yet it was deep night*.

hieme uero: the previous specification, then, applies to other seasons of the year.

hora: cf. III. 1. 8 (Sel. 23) n. *hora*.

erat somni paratissimi: so he found no difficulty in falling asleep amid the terrors of the eruption of Vesuvius; VI. 16. 13 (Sel. 45). On the construction cf. II. 1. 9 (Sel. 15) n. *huius aetatis*.

9. ille quoque noctibus utebatur: Suet. (*Vesp.* 21) tells of his habits, *maturius semper ac de nocte euigilabat; dein perlectis epistulis officiorumque omnium breuiariis amicos admittebat*, etc.

delegatum sibi officium: the prefecture of the fleet at Misenum, which was about as much of a naval office as that of the admiral in Pinafore. Its duties were largely administrative and required much residence in the capital; but the short amount of time that he had to devote to them daily (cf. note below) does not seem to indicate that they were very engrossing. On **delegatum** cf. V. 14. 9 (Sel. 38) *delegatum Cornuto officium* (V. 14. 2 *mandatum mihi officium . . . per Cornuto datum*); on **officium**, III. 1. 11 (Sel. 23) n. *obiit officia*.

quod reliquum temporis: *i.e.* the rest of the day,—which, as he reached home by the breakfast hour, meant practically the whole of the day. The account is inconsistent with Pliny's own statement (*N.H.* praef. 18), *subsiciuis temporibus ista curamus, id est nocturnis . . . dies uobis impendimus*.

10. post cibum: *sc.* the *ientaculum*, which was usually taken in the third or fourth hour, and consisted of bread dipped in wine (the common breakfast of the Roman peasant to-day) or eaten with honey, dates, olives, or salt. More luxuriously inclined persons might add cheese or fried cakes.

quem interdiu leuem et facilem sumebat: *quem* refers to *cibum* in the generic sense of food rather than in reference to the specific *ientaculum*. The meals that Pliny took in the course of the day (*interdiu*), both *ientaculum* and *prandium* (§ 11), were light meals of easily digestible food, 'in the good old fashion' (*ueterum more*): the *cena*, which concluded the day, could claim no especial distinction for simplicity.

si quid otii: cf. VII. 4. 8 (Sel. 47) *inde ydra metra, si quid otii, maxime in itinere temptani*; and similar ellipsis of the verb in conditional clauses is not uncommon in Pliny; cf. Lagergren p. 43.—The leisure referred to must be from more serious studies (cf. § 9),—yet it is difficult to see, according to his nephew's account, where Pliny found any time for his private business.

iacebat in sole: probably in a *solarium* on the house-top;

cf. II. 17. 20 (Sel. 21) n. *heliocaminus*, and on the sun-bath, III. 1. 8 (Sel. 23) n. *in sole*.

legebatur: sc. *a lectore*; cf. III. 1. 4 (Sel. 23); I. 15. 2 (Sel. 10) n. *lectorem*.

adnotabat: *i.e.* Pliny affixed, or ordered affixed, the marginal sign that called attention to the passage, whether for approval (as in many mediaeval MSS.) or for censure.

excerpebat: many books beside those of Pliny were thus made in that and the later unoriginal ages; and so the younger Pliny was trained by his uncle; cf. VI. 16. 7 (Sel. 45); 20. 5 (Sel. 46).

nullum esse librum, etc.: cf. Quint. X. 1. 40 *paucos enim uel potius uix ullum ex his qui uetustatem pertulerunt existimo posse reperiri quin iudicium adhibentibus allaturus sit utilitatis aliquid*; ibid. 57 *ut qui dixerim esse in omnibus utilitatis aliquid*.

11. post solem: the usual time for the bath was in the afternoon, after the athletic exercise that followed the siesta (cf. III. 1. 8 n.,—Sel. 23); but other people than Pliny took the bath before the *prandium*, as that model of health in old age, the physician Antiochus (Gal. VI. p. 332); also later the emperor Alexander Severus (Lampr. *Alex.* 30. 5); cf. also Iuu. 11. 204.

frigida: sc. *aqua*, as frequently in colloquial Latin (cf. inscriptions on walls of taverns in Pompeii), and not infrequently in writers of the empire; see also VI. 16. 18 (Sel. 45). Pliny apparently took only the cold bath, as much to save time as for any other reason.

gustabat: cf. VI. 16. 5 (Sel. 45) *gustauerat*. The *prandium* was served ordinarily at the sixth or seventh hour, and was commonly a somewhat hearty meal with hot or cold meats or fish, accompanied by vegetables, fruit, and wine.

dormiebat minimum: the almost universal practice among the Romans was to devote the hour or two immediately following the *prandium* to rest and sleep (*meridiatio*); but cf. Cels. I. 2 *longis diebus meridiari potius ante cibum; sin minus, post eum*, whose advice does not seem to have been generally followed. The siesta might be omitted in times of especial business, or in the more active season of winter: cf. *e.g.* Cic. *Diu.* II. 142 *nunc quidem propter intermissionem forensis operae et lucubrationes detraxi et meridiationes addidi, quibus uti antea non solebam*; and Pliny's difference of custom as between summer and winter (VII. 4. 4,—Sel. 47, and IX. 36. 3,—Sel. 70; 40. 2,—Sel. 72).

quasi alio die: the active day for the ordinary Roman, under ordinary circumstances, ended with *prandium*; cf. Mart. IV. 8. 4 *sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit*; Anth. Pal. X. 43 ἓξ ὧραι μόχθοις ἱκανώτατοι· αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὰς | γράμμασι δεικνύμεναι ΖΗΘΙ λέγουσι βροτοῖς.

cenae tempus: cf. III. 1. 9 (Sel. 23) n. *cena*.

super hanc: cf. *super cenam* also in IV. 22. 6 (Sel. 35); IX. 33. 1 (Sel. 69).

adnotabatur: cf. above § 10 n. *adnotabat*.

et quidem: cf. I. 6. 1 (Sel. 5) n. *et quidem*.

12. lector: cf. § 10 n. *legebatur*.

versus: applied to 'lines' whether of verse or of prose, though in the latter cases referring usually (not in IV. 11. 16, —Sel. 32) to the formal στίχος (the number of letters in an average verse of Homer) by which copyists and others measured writing; cf. Quint. X. 1. 38 *cum in Bruto M. Tullius tot milibus uersuum de Romanis tantum oratoribus loquatur*; Birt *Das Antike Buchwesen*, c. 4; E. Maunde Thompson *Handbk. Grk. and Lat. Palaeog.* c. 6 (Stichometry).

13. tanta, etc.: an example of what the rhetoricians called *epiphonema*; cf. Quint. VIII. 5. 11 *est enim epiphonema rei narratae uel probatae summus acclamatio, 'tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem'*; Nägelsbach *Lat. Stil.*[8], pp. 710 ff.; cf. the double *epiphonema* in I. 9. 3 (Sel. 6) *quot ... quam*; III. 7. 13 *tam ... tantae*; II. 14. 12 (Sel. 20) *quae ... quam, quibus .. quam* (the last two in indirect form).

urbis fremitum: often complained of; cf. *e.g.* Hor. *Carm.* III. 29. 12; *Ep.* I. 17. 6-8; II. 2. 79 ff.; Iuu. 3. 232 ff.; Mart. XII. 18. 13 ff.; 57. 3 ff.

14. in secessu, *when in the country*: cf. I. 3. 3 (Sel. 3) n. *secessu*.

destringitur ... audiebat: the sequence is noticeable, the *dum*-clause being simply equivalent to a present participle passive. Pliny, indeed, inclines in his effort after liveliness and vigour to the use of the present tense, even in connection with secondary tenses; see *e.g.* V. 1. 8 f.; VI. 20. 4 (Sel. 46); IX. 13. 8 ff. (Sel. 64).

destringitur, tergitur: with the *strigilis* and with towels (*lintea*) respectively. These operations generally took place immediately after the cold bath (which was the only one Pliny ordinarily took; cf. § 11) either in the *caldarium*, or in a special apartment, the *unctorium* (cf. II. 17. 11 nn.,—Sel.

21). After drying, the skin was usually rubbed with ointment.

15. in itinere: the younger Pliny emulated his uncle: cf. IV. 14. 2 *hendecasyllabos nostros, quibus nos in uehiculo, in balineo, inter cenam oblectamus otium temporis*: and on his combination of hunting and writing, I. 6 (Sel. 5) nn.

ad latus: *sc.* in the carriage.

notarius, *a secretary*, who was not necessarily a shorthand (*notae Tironianae*) writer. Here he added to his functions that of the usual *lector*: cf. IX. 36. 2 (Sel. 70); 20. 2 *qui ... me notariis et lectoribus reliquerunt.*

libro: the author from whom he read aloud.

pugillaribus, *tablets* of wax (cf. I. 6. 1,—Sel. 5,—n. *stilus et pugillares*), on which to take down the notes dictated by his master.

manicis, *sleeves*: after the fashion of the northern (Tac. *Germ.* 17) and eastern (Verg. *Aen.* IX. 616) races. The ordinary Roman tunic had but a very short sleeve at most.

Romae: where driving within the city was forbidden to ordinary citizens from very early times till the fourth century A.D.; cf. Marquardt *Privatleben*,[2] pp. 728 ff.

sella, *a sedan-chair*: which, like the *lectica*, was carried by from two to eight lusty slaves, but differed from it chiefly in being suited to a sitting rather than to a reclining posture.

16. repeto: see II. 6. 1 (Sel. 16) n. *altius repetere*, ad fin.

perdere, perire: the latter verb serves for the passive of the former from the earliest to the latest times: cf. lexx.

17. intentione: cf. I. 3. 2 (Sel. 3) n. *intentione.*

electorum, *extracts*: cf. VIII. 21. 4 *quod contingere non potest electa recitantibus.*

commentarios, *notebooks*: cf. X. 66. 1 (Sel. 99); Suet. *Aug.* 64 *diurnos commentarios*; also VII. 19. 5 (Sel. 50) n. *commentarios.*

mihi reliquit: as his adopted son and heir. It would be interesting to know what the younger Pliny did with these immense collections.

opisthographos: the back of the papyrus roll, having the grain running the wrong way, was not so well adapted for writing, and moreover was subjected to wear by the constant rolling and unrolling in the hands. Hence literary works were but rarely written on both sides of the roll (but cf. Iuu. 1. 6 *scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes*). But pressure

of space, or considerations of economy, especially in mere note-books, might lead to the use of both sides (cf. some of the papyri recently discovered in Egypt).

cum procuraret in Hispania: cf. § 3 n. *praefectus alae*. There were a number of different procuratorships filled by *equites* at home and abroad, of which by far the largest class was that of the procurators of the emperor's *fiscus*, or official purse (as distinct from the ordinary state treasury, civil or military). These officials, in their respective stations, handled all the income from the imperial provinces, and served alongside the quaestors in the senatorial provinces. The Suetonian biography of Pliny (*l.c.*) says that he filled *procurationes quoque splendidissimas et continuas*. Besides holding this procuratorship in Hispania Tarraconensis under Vespasian, he apparently served (A.D. 70) in Gallia Narbonensis, (A.D. 74) in Belgica, and had at some time been resident in some capacity in Africa.

Larcio Licino: cf. II. 14. 9 n.

quadringentis milibus nummum: (sc. *sestertium*) about £4,350 or $21,750,—the precise amount of the necessary fortune of an *eques*; cf. Mommsen *Staatsr.* III. p. 499 f.

et: in the sense of *et tamen*; cf. III. 1. 9 (Sel. 23) n. *et antiquo*.

18. amicitia principis: cf. § 7 n. *amicitia principum*.

19. officia distringunt: cf. the same expression in I. 10. 9 (Sel. 7): VII. 15. 1.

tota uita: with this ablative of duration of time cf. II. 11. 14 (Sel. 17) n. *horis*; IV. 13. 1 (Sel. 33) *diebus*.

20. stimulis: cf. III. 7. 15 (Sel. 25); IV. 5. 3 *Rhodii . . . comparationis aculeis excitabantur*.

25. (III. 7.)

The death of Silius Italicus.—On Caninius Rufus, to whom the letter is addressed, see introductory note to I. 3 (Sel. 3).

1. nuntiatus est: like all the writers from the classical period onward, Pliny uses the personal passive construction of verbs of telling with the infinitive; cf. § 3 *credebatur accusasse*; IV. 6. 1 *abundantia nuntiatur*; VII. 27. 3 (Sel. 54) *figura occurrisse narratur*; VIII. 24. 2 (Sel. 60) *fruges inuentae esse creduntur*: but also the neuter construction, as in V. 5. 1 (Sel. 37) *nuntiatum mihi est C. Fannium decessisse*; V. 14. 1 (Sel. 38) *nuntiatum est*, etc.

Silius Italicus: this letter is the chief source of our knowledge of his life, but a few facts are gleaned from other writers, chiefly from Martial, who courted him as he also did Pliny (see notes below). The full name, Ti. Catius Silius Italicus, is preserved in the lists of the *sodales Augustales Claudiales* (*C.I.L.* VI. 1984).

Neapolitano suo: sc. *praedio*; cf. II. 17. 1 (Sel. 21), etc.

inedia finisse uitam: cf. I. 12. 9 (Sel. 8) n. *abstinebat cibo.*

2. insanabilis: Seneca sums up the Stoic position on suicide as an escape from disease in *Ep.* 58. 36 *morbum morte non fugiam, dumtaxat sanabilem nec officientem animo. non adferam mihi manus propter dolorem: sic mori uinci est. hunc tamen si sciero perpetuo mihi esse patiendum, exibo, non propter ipsum, sed quia impedimento mihi futurus est ad omne propter quod uiuitur. imbecillus est et ignauus, qui propter dolorem moritur, stultus, qui doloris causa uiuit.*

clauus: described by Celsus (V. 28. 14) as a corn. But it is hardly conceivable that such an ailment should be so painful as to induce to suicide. Perhaps some sort of ulcer (described by Celsus in immediate connection with *claui*) is here meant. Cf. VI. 24, where the victim of incurable ulcers (θύμια? cf. Cels. *l.c.*) with the encouragement and companionship of his wife drowned himself, and Plin. *N.H.* XXVI. 142 *clauos in ulcere natos*; but *C.G.L.* III. p. 598. 22 *clauus furunculus et est dolor cum calositate in similitudinem clauorum.*

taedio: *taedium uitae* (a proverbial expression) was a commonplace verdict on the cause of suicide; cf. Pin. *N.H.* II. 156; Paul. *Sent.* V. 12. 1.

irreuocabili constantia: cf. I. 12. 9 (Sel. 8) n. *perseuerantem constantia fugit.*

beatus et felix, *prosperous and fortunate*: cf. I. 3. 2 (Sel. 3) n. *felix beatusque.*

minorem: named Seuerus; cf. Mart. IX. 86, on his death.

ex liberis duobus: both children were sons.

consularem: cos. apparently in 93, under Domitian (the younger son was then living); cf. Mart. VIII. 66, a congratulatory ode on the occasion.

3. credebatur: personal, as in § 1 *nuntiatus est*, on which see note.

sponte: cf. I. 12. 1 (Sel. 8) n. *sponte.*

accusasse: voluntary service as an informer, in hope of reward, is distinguished from such prosecutions as were undertaken through fear at the command of the emperor; cf.

Tac. *Hist.* IV. 42 (of Regulus under Nero) *sponte Caesaris accusationem subisse iuuenis admodum, nec depellendi periculi sed in spem potentiae uidebatur.*

in Vitelli amicitia: cf. III. 5. 7 (Sel. 24) n. *amicitia principum*. Silius is mentioned by Tacitus (*Hist.* III. 65) as one of the two counsellors of Vitellius present at his conferences with Sabinus concerning surrender.

Asiae: a senatorial province, over which Silius presided at an unknown date (perhaps in A.D. 77, under Vespasian: so Zippel). With the phrase cf. IX. 23. 2 (Sel. 67) *e senatu famam retuli.*

otio: *sc.* since his proconsulship of Asia, after which he devoted himself entirely to philosophy and literature. Up to that time he had also practised before the courts; cf. Mart. VII. 63. 5 ff. *sacra cothurnati non attigit ante Maronis | impleuit magni quam Ciceronis opus: | hunc miratur adhuc centum grauis hasta uirorum, | hunc loquitur grato plurimus ore cliens. | ...emeritos Musis et Phoebo tradidit annos, | proque suo celebrat nunc Helicona foro.*

4. sine potentia, sine inuidia: without influence, because he had deliberately withdrawn from politics, and therefore without suffering from that hostility that is a necessary concomitant of power.

salutabatur: according to old Roman custom every man of position received his clients and friends in formal audience in his *atrium* early each morning. The main purpose of the visit was that of courteous paying of respect, but business might be combined with politeness (cf. I. 5. 8,—Sel. 4,—n. *mane*). By the middle of the first century A.D. the formal *salutatio* of the *clientes* was rendered simply for the sake of securing the customary dole (*sportula*: cf. II. 14. 4 n.,—Sel. 20; III. 12. 2 (Sel. 27) n. *officia antelucana*), and by the end of the century the regular promiscuous *salutatio* was generally abandoned, and friends called upon their friends, as in the case of Silius, out of real regard. Cf. Friedländer *Sittengesch.*[6] I. pp. 382 ff.

non ex fortuna frequenti: the thronging of his room was not due to anything else than his own personal qualities, for he was not concerned directly or indirectly in politics, and had an heir to his great wealth living in good health; cf. Tac. *Dial.* 6 *quid enim dulcius libero et ingenuo animo et ad uoluptates honestas nato quam uidere plenam semper et frequentem domum suam concursu splendidissimorum hominum, idque scire non pecuniae, non orbitati, non officii alicuius administrationi, sed sibi ipsi dari?*

doctissimis sermonibus: *sc.* on themes of philosophy; cf. the reference in Epict. *Diss.* III. 8. 7 Ἰταλικὸς ὁ μάλιστα δοκῶν αὐτῶν φιλόσοφος εἶναι παρόντος ποτέ μου χαλεπήνας τοῖς ἰδίοις ὡς ἀνήκεστα πάσχων, οὐ δύναμαι, ἔφη, φέρειν, κ.τ.λ.

5. carmina: his only known work is the longest poem extant in the Latin language, the *Punica*, an epic account of the second Punic war in seventeen books. This was certainly the chief work of his mature years, but the so-called *Ilias Latina*, or *Homerus Latinus*, is also with great probability ascribed to him as a product of his youthful studies. It is a brief (1070 hexameters) Latin abstract, rather than translation, from Homer's *Iliad*, and is the only one of many such works of the classical period that survived, and was popular in, the middle ages.

maiore cura quam ingenio: the characterization is entirely well-judged. But Martial of course praises his patron's verse exuberantly, ranking him even with Vergil; Mart. IV. 14; VII. 63; XI. 49.

recitationibus: cf. I. 13. 1 (Sel. 9) n. *recitaret*.

6. aduentu noui principis: *sc.* Trajan, who was serving as legate of Upper Germany at the time of Nerva's death (Jan. 27, 98), and did not return to Rome till the next year. The great public rejoicing in the city on the occasion of his entry as emperor is magniloquently described by Pliny in *Pan.* 22 ff. Under a jealous emperor like Domitian the failure of any Roman of rank to come to the capital and pay his respects in person on such an occasion would have been perilous.

7. hoc liberum fuit: see also on Trajan's temper regarding such formalities *Pan.* 24 *liberum est ingrediente per publicum principe subsistere, occurrere, comitari, praeterire*; 48 *itaque non alii et attoniti, nec ut periculum capitis adituri tarditate, sed securi et hilares, cum commodum est, conuenimus. et admittente principe interdum est aliquid quod nos domi quasi magis necessarium teneat; excusati semper tibi nec unquam excusandi sumus.*

φιλόκαλος, *a virtuoso*: cf. II. 3. 8 ἀφιλόκαλον, *illitteratum, iners, ac paene etiam turpe est non putare*, etc., where, as also in Greek, the epithet is used in a more general sense.

usque ad emacitatis reprehensionem: with the phraseology cf. Spart. *Vit. Hadr.* 2. 1 *uenando usque ad reprehensionem studiosus.*

8. uillas: among them he owned a villa that had been Cicero's (Mart. XI. 48),—perhaps (but not probably) his *Tusculanum*, as De Rossi inferred from a certain inscription

(*C.I.L.* XIV. 2653) discovered at that place (*Bull. Com. Rom.* 1882, pp. 141 ff.). Teuffel (Schwabe) thought the villa might be Cicero's *Cumanum* (*Gesch. röm. Lit.*[5], § 320. 1), Nissen, his *Arpinas* (*Ital. Landesk.* I. p. 330. n. 1).

imaginum: cf. I. 16. 8 (Sel. 11) n. *imagines.*

uenerabatur: a favourite word of Pliny in relation to learning and things connected therewith; cf. III. 15. 2 *poeticen religiosissime ueneror*; IV. 28. 2 *studiorum summa reuerentia*; VI. 17. 5 *omnes qui aliquid in studiis faciunt uenerari etiam mirarique soleo*; VII. 25. 1 *maximum opus silentio reuerentur*; 31. 5 *studia quoque ueneratur.*

Vergili ante omnes: the regard of Silius for Vergil is shown not merely by the flattery of imitation but by references in Martial (*ll. cc.*). Annaeus Cornutus, the philosopher and rhetorician, dedicated to Silius his commentaries on Vergil.

cuius natalem (sc. *diem*): Oct. 15; cf. the lives by Probus and Donatus (ap. Reifferscheid *Suet. Rell.* pp. 52 ff.); Mart. XII. 67. 3 *Octobres Maro consecrauit Idus*; Auson. XVIII. *Epist.* XXI. *Genethl.* 25 *Octobres olim genitus Maro dedicat Idus.*

religiosius quam suum: cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV. 11. 17 f. *iure sollemnis mihi sanctiorque | paene natali proprio* (of the birthday of Maecenas); Iuu. 12. 1 *natali, Coruine, die mihi dulcior haec lux.* To each man the celebration of his own birthday, by festal garments, sacrifices to his *genius* and to the other gods, presents from (Plin. *Ep.* IV. 9. 7) and jollification with his friends, was both a sacred and a joyous duty; cf. Mart. X. 24. 1, 2 *natales mihi Martiae Kalendae, | lux formosior omnibus Kalendis*; Plin. *Ep.* VI. 30. 1 *debemus me hercule natales tuos perinde ac nostros celebrare*; Cens. *De die natali* 2. 2; De Marchi *Il culto privato di Roma antica*, pp. 209 ff. The birthdays of the dead were also celebrated by sacrifices; cf. *ibid.* p. 202. And on the birthdays of the emperor see X. 17A. 2 (Sel. 83) n. *celebrare.*

ubi monimentum, etc.: Vergil died at Brundisium, (Sept. 21, 19 B.C., at the age of nearly 51), but was buried at Naples, within the second milestone on the road to Puteoli, if we may trust the life by Donatus (*l.c.*). According to Martial (XI. 48. 49) the tomb had been practically forgotten, and was in the possession of some poor man when Silius bought the plot of ground on which it stood. Statius used to visit it for inspiration (*Silu.* IV. 4. 51 ff.). The little *columbarium* of *opus reticulatum* that stands just above the entrance to the ancient grotto of Posilippo, and is shown to

tourists as the tomb of Vergil, has no claim to that distinction, though the tomb must have been in that neighbourhood.

9. in hac tranquillitate, etc.: with the phraseology cf. II. 1. 4 (Sel. 15).

delicato: *i.e.* requiring care,—a very unusual sense of the word, which generally implies something of the exquisiteness of self-indulgence (cf. *e.g.* VII. 24. 3,—Sel. 52); cf. also II. 11. 25 (Sel. 17) n. *delicatissimae.*

consul: *cos. ordinarius* in A.D. 68, with Galerius Trachalus: cf. Mart. VII. 63. 9.

10. quo consule Nero perlit: not that Silius was actually consul at the time of Nero's death (June 9, 68), for his *nundinum* had expired (or he had been deposed before the time; cf. Suet. *Nero* 43), but that he was eponymous consul for the year.

quod me recordantem, etc.: cf. the phraseology in V. 5. 7 (Sel. 37), and the meditation on the shortness and uncertainty of life in IV. 24 (*tantas conuersiones aut fragilitas mortalitatis aut fortunae mobilitas facit*). The idea is a Stoic commonplace (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 49. 3 *punctum est quod uiuimus, et adhuc puncto minus*), and Petronius satirizes it in *Sat.* 42 *heu, eheu, utres inflati ambulamus; minoris quam muscae sumus:- muscae tamen aliquam uirtutem habent; nos non pluris sumus quam bullae.*

11. tam circumcisum, tam breue: cf. I. 20. 4 (Sel. 13) *circumcisae et breues.*

modo modo, *only just now*: an evidently colloquial reduplication, which is fully developed in Italian; cf. Petr. 42 *Chrysanthus animam ebulliit—modo modo me appellauit*; also V. 6. 32 *longe longeque.*

cum interim, *while the fact is that*: cf. the same expression in III. 16. 13 (Sel. 28); VIII. 14. 13; and *cum interea* with the same meaning in *Pan.* 4, 76. Both phrases are classical in this sense.

gesserant ... superest: on the sequence see I. 2. 1 (Sel.2) n. *promiseram exhibeo.*

12. quanquam, *and yet* (καίτοι): as not infrequently; cf. VII. 9. 15 (Sel. 49); VIII. 8. 7 (Sel. 57); 24. 10 (Sel. 60); IX. 3. 3; 33. 11 (Sel. 69).

L. Piso: his *praenomen* was Cn. until the *post mortem* condemnation of his father, Cn. Calpurnius Piso, for the murder of Germanicus (Tac. *Ann.* III. 17). He himself was *cos. ordinarius* in A.D. 27 (Tac. *Ann.* IV. 62), *praefectus urbi* in 36

(Joseph. XVIII. 6. 5, 10), and proconsul of Africa in 40 (Dio LIX. 20).

Pisonis illius qui, etc. : L. Calpurnius Piso, the son, was *cos. ordinarius* in A.D. 57 (Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 31) with Nero, a *frater Arualis* as early as 57 (Henzen *Acta Frat. Aru.* s. an.), *curator aquarum* in 60 to 63, *triumuir uectigalibus publicis curandis* in 62 (Tac. *Ann.* XV. 18), and in 69 proconsul of Africa, where he was killed by Valerius Festus in 70; see below.

Valerio Festo : C. Calpetanus Rantius Quirinalis Valerius Festus (so inscrr. give his full name) had passed through the usual grades of office, and was *legatus pro praetore* in command of troops in the province of Africa under Piso as *proconsul*. He was related to Vitellius by marriage, and at first tried to steer a middle course between him and Vespasian (Tac. *Hist.* II. 98), going so far as to make an attempt (but fruitlessly) to enlist Piso on the side of the Vitellians as a leader against Vespasian. But when Mucianus sent a centurion with orders to kill Piso, Festus joined the winning side, and Piso was killed by a band of cavalry despatched by Festus and aided in identifying the governor by the procurator, Baebius Massa (Tac. *Hist.* IV. 49 f.), whom Pliny later prosecuted for extortion in Baetica (III. 4. 4; VI. 29. 8; VII. 33). Festus was rewarded by Vespasian with military decorations, and with the consulship in 71, and had a successful career in high office under him and Titus.

per summum facinus; for he was himself more of a Vitellian than Piso, and very probably his false information led Mucianus to order Piso's death.

consul : in A.D. 27; see above.

sententiam rogauisset: the technical phrase for calling upon the senators, in due and formal order individually, to speak their minds (*dicere sententiam*) upon the question before the house; cf. IX. 13. 9 (Sel. 64) n. *sententiae loco*.

13. tam ... tantae : a double *epiphonema*; cf. III. 5. 13 (Sel. 24) n. *tanta*.

angustis terminis concluditur : cf. IX. 2. 3 *nos quam angustis terminis claudamur . . . perspicis*.

uiuacitas ipsa, *the vitality itself* : *i.e.* the utmost grasp on life of so large a number,—the life of the most long-lived among them,—is yet so short.

illae regiae lacrimae : they seem to have partaken of a saurian character, or to resemble those of the oyster-devouring Walrus.

ferunt: the story is told by Herodotus (VII. 45 f.), and is elsewhere repeated; cf. *e.g.* Sen. *Brev. Vit.* 17. 2.

cum, etc.: when on his way to invade Greece he saw the entire Hellespont completely covered from view, and the surrounding plains and heights filled with his mighty army.

breuis, *imminent*: this adjective is used by Pliny nearly forty times in some form, but only here in this sense. Nor can similar instances be readily cited from other writers. But the meaning is akin to that of the adverbial ablative (*breui*, 'shortly'), which occurs several times in Pliny, as elsewhere.

14. datur: sc. *proferre*, according to Pliny's frequent syllepses; cf. Kraut pp. 42 ff.

in aliena manu: sc. *principis*, who alone can promote to honour and administration: but each man may command his own brain; cf. III. 20. 12 *sunt quidem cuncta sub unius arbitrio.*

proferamus: cf. II. 7. 4 *ut uita eius breuis et angusta debuerit hac* ⟨sc. *statuae*⟩ *uelut immortalitate proferri*; Sil. IX. 375 f.; *breuis hoc uitae, quodcumque relictum, | extendamus* ⟨sc. *uirtute.*⟩

relinquamus ... testemur: cf. V. 5. 4 (Sel. 37) *memoriam sui operibus extendunt*; Cic. *Tusc.* I. 109 *uita acta perficiat ut satis superque uixisse uideamur.*

15. currentem quoque instigem: cf. I. 8. 1 *addidisti ergo calcaria sponte currenti*; the expression is proverbial in both Greek and Latin, going back as far as Homer; cf. *Il.* VIII. 293 f. Ἀτρεΐδη κύδιστε, τί μ᾽ σπεύδοντα καὶ αὐτὸν | ὀτρύνεις; cf. Otto *Sprichwörter* pp. 102, 103.

ἀγαθὴ δ᾽ Ἔρις: from Hesiod *Op.* 24, where he remarks that stimulus to effort is found in observing another's success.

cum, etc.: cf. VII. 20. 2 (Sel. 51) *o pulchras uices*, etc.

in uicem, *each in turn*: but hardly different from **mutuis**, which, with it and **se** makes a truly surprising pleonasm, even in a pleonastic writer; cf. VII. 20. 7 (Sel. 51), where *in uicem* means 'each other,' the object of the verb being omitted, and also IV. 19. 8 (Sel. 34) n. *in uicem.*

26. (III. 11.)

The praise of Artemidorus.—Iulius Genitor, to whom this letter is addressed, was a professional rhetorician, and is highly extolled by Pliny in III. 3. 4 ff. for character and

ability. Two other letters are addressed to him, one on Pliny's studies (VII. 30), and the other (IX. 17) on the variety of entertainments at dinner.

1. omnino, *in general.*

Artemidori: nothing more is known of him than is contained in this letter.

2. philosophi ab urbe summoti: by Domitian, in that fatal year 93; cf. I. 5. 2 (Sel. 4) n. *Rustici Aruleni*; Suet. *Dom.* 10 *interemit . . . Iunium Rusticum . . . cuius criminis occasione philosophos omnis urbe Italiaque summouit*; Gell. XV. 11. 3 ff. (*eiecti atque urbe et Italia interdicti*); Sulp. *Sat.* 35 ff. (*abire foras atque urbe excedere iussit*). Eusebius in his *Chronica* (Armenian version) says the philosophers were driven out of Rome also in A.D. 89; cf. also Dio Cass. LXVII. 13. 2 ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης τῆς κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν αἰτίας συχνοὶ διώλοντο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐξηλάθησαν αὖθις ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης.

apud illum in suburbano: perhaps after the decree but before the limit of time set for the departure from Italy. Yet as Pliny (like some others; see above) mentions specifically only *urbe*, and not *urbe et Italia*, some have supposed that the decree of expulsion from Italy was a later addition to the original measure.

periculosius: as a possible challenge to Domitian's wrath.

praetor: it is from this mention alone that the date of Pliny's praetorship is determined as 93 A.D., or possibly 94.

qua ... opus erat: probably to enable him to conclude his business affairs at once in view of his speedy removal from Italy.

ex causis: cf. I. 2. 6 (Sel. 2) n. *ex causis.*

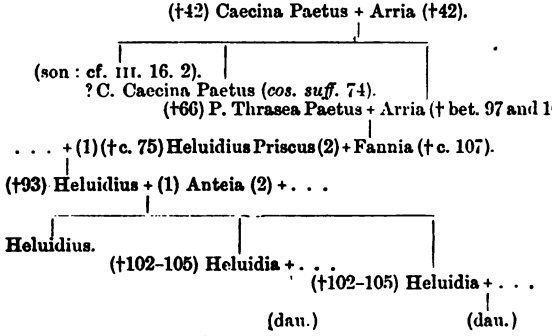
mussantibus: perhaps not so much on account of the possibility of loss through the removal of Artemidorus as because they feared the emperor.

gratuitam dedi, *I gave outright*: though all Artemidorus had tried to secure was a loan. Pliny not infrequently made large gifts to friends in need.—But some understand **gratuitam** to mean 'without charging interest,' comparing such passages as Suet. *Iul.* 27 *omnibus . . . gratuito aut leni fenore obstrictis*, which is quite possible.

3. Senecione: cf. I. 5. 3 (Sel. 4) n. *Herennium Senecionem.*

Rustico: cf. I. 5. 2 (Sel. 4) n. *Rustici Aruleni.*

Heluidio: the son of that Heluidius Priscus who was the husband of Fannia (daughter of Thrasea Paetus and the younger Arria), and had been banished by Nero in 66, and, after quarrels with Vespasian, again banished by him and finally put to death in exile. The younger Heluidius had been consul, perhaps *suffectus* in 87, and was accused *maiestatis laesae* in 93 by Publicius Certus and put to death. He left two daughters and a son (IV. 21), of whom perhaps all, but at least one daughter was by Anteia (IX. 13. 4,—Sel. 64); and Pliny undertook to avenge his death upon his prosecutor (*ll. cc.*). The relationships of this revolutionary family, so often mentioned by Pliny, can be most clearly indicated by a simple *stemma*:



relegatis: cf. I. 5. 5 (Sel. 4) n. *relegatus*.

Maurico: cf. I. 5. 10 (Sel. 4) n. *Mauricum*.

Gratilla: mentioned in V. 1. 8, in connection with Arulenus Rusticus, as one of the condemned, but otherwise unknown.

Arria: the younger; cf. the *stemma* above, and notes on III. 16 (Sel. 28), VII. 19 (Sel. 50), IX. 13 (Sel. 64) *passim*.

Fannia: see the *stemma* above, and Pliny's description of her in VII. 19 (Sel. 50).

fulminibus quasi ambustus: cf. the same figure in *Pan.* 90 *utrumque nostrum* [sc. Cornutus and Pliny] *ille optimi cuiusque spoliator et carnifex stragibus amicorum* [sc. Domitian] *et in proximum iacto fulmine adflauerat*.

quibusdam notis: *e.g.* such attacks as that of Regulus, described in I. 5. 4-7 (Sel. 4). That the prognostication was

not unfounded is perhaps indicated by the fact mentioned in VII. 27. 14 (Sel. 54). But Pliny may be exaggerating his own danger; cf. Introd. p. xxiii.

5. C. Musonium: C. Musonius Rufus, a native of Etruria, and a teacher of Stoic philosophy at Rome, was banished by Nero in 65 to Gyarus as a corruptor of youth (Tac. *Ann.* XV. 71; Dio LXII. 27. 4). In 69 he preached peace unsuccessfully to the troops of Antonius, as a member of the embassy of Vitellius with Arulenus Rusticus (Tac. *Hist.* III. 81; cf. Pl. *Ep.* I. 5. 2 n. (Sel. 4). But he apparently got on well with Vespasian later, for in 71, when that emperor banished all philosophers from Rome, he especially excepted Musonius. His later life is unknown, though many fragments of his teachings are preserved, especially in Stobaeus.

quantum licitus est per aetatem: on the phraseology cf. II. 13. 8 (Sel. 19) *quantum potui per aetatem.*

cum admiratione dilexi: cf. I. 22. 1 *quem singulariter et miror et diligo.*

cum militarem: cf. VII. 4. 3 (Sel. 47), and Introd. p. xxi.

indolis dedi specimen: with the phraseology cf. II. 7. 4 *Cottius ipse tam clarum specimen indolis dederat.*

aut proximum, etc.: for the Stoics taught that no man was absolutely *sapiens*: cf. Quint. XII. 1. 18 *quo modo Stoici, si interrogentur, an sapiens Zeno an Cleanthes an Chrysippus, respondeant magnos quidem illos ac venerabiles, non tamen id quod natura hominis summum habet consecutos*; so Seneca frequently, and so St. Paul (*Phil.* 3. 12), *not that I have already attained . . . but I pursue after*, etc. Cf. also V. 20. 5 *eloquentia uix uni aut alteri, immo, si M. Antonio credimus, nemini . . . contigit.*

6. qua patentia, etc.: the virtues recited are all commonplace virtues of the Stoic system, and most, if not all, of them are extolled by Musonius (ap. Stob. *passim*).

7. quibus meruit, etc.: precisely like Euphrates, whose virtues led him to be preferred as a son-in-law above many other suitors; cf. I. 10. 8 (Sel. 7).

omnibus omnium: cf. similar collocation in *Pan.* 32 *ad omnes omnium bona pertinent*; I. 20. 7 (Sel. 13) *multae multorum orationes*; VIII. 8. 7 (Sel. 57) *multa multorum.*

adsectatoribus, *disciples*: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 65. 18 *sapiens adsectatorque sapientiae*; II. 14. 10 (Sel. 20) n. *adsectabar.*

8. ne modum excedat: as Pliny himself was faulted for doing: cf. VII. 28. 1 (Sel. 55).

illuc coepi: on the resumptive phrase cf. I. 5. 16 (Sel. 4) n. *ut idem saepius dicam.*

9. honesto ... errore: cf. VII. 28. 2 (Sel. 55) *quid enim honestius culpa inuerecundiae?*

pluris: genitive of estimation,—rare, if not unique, with *arbitrari.*

27. (III. 12.)

Accepting an invitation to dinner.—L. Catilius Severus, the person addressed, filled a first consulship at some unknown date, and was proconsul of Asia. Hadrian left him in command of Syria on his return to Rome after his accession (Spart. *Hadr.* 5. 10), and gave him a second consulship (*cos. ord.*) in 120, appointing him later prefect of the city. He even aspired to be Hadrian's successor, and lost his office as prefect on the adoption of Antonine in 138 (*ibid.* 24. 6-8). But though he failed of empire himself, his granddaughter, Domitia Lucilla, was mother of the emperor M. Aurelius, who bore in early life the name of his maternal great-grandfather (Capit. *M. Aur.* 1. 3, 9). Pliny addresses to him one other letter,—I. 22,—on the illness of Titius Aristo. With this letter should be compared its companion-piece, I. 15 (Sel. 10).

1. expedita: *i.e.* without much *apparatus* (§ 4), simply served.

parca, *inexpensive*: without much *impendium* (§ 4).

Socraticis sermonibus: perhaps quoted from Hor. *Carm.* III. 21. 9 f. *non ille quanquam Socraticis madet | sermonibus te neglegit horridus.* Conversations on serious themes are meant, such as Plato represents in his Dialogues; cf. also III. 1. 6, 9 (Sel. 23).

2. officia antelucana: *i.e.* for the most part the early morning *salutatio*; cf. III. 5. 9 (Sel. 24); III. 7. 4 (Sel. 25) n. *salutabitur*; so Juvenal (3. 127; 5. 19) speaks of the *salutatores* as starting out while it was yet night, lest others get ahead of them in paying their respects; and so two Roman knights plotted to kill Cicero in his bed before daybreak, presenting themselves as *salutatores* (Cic. *Cat.* I. 9, 10).

Catoni: so-called *Uticensi* (great-grandson of Cato Censor), the stiff-necked, uncompromising, and unconquerable foe of the *populares*, and of their great leader Julius Caesar, and a professed model of upright character. After the disastrous battle of Pharsalus (at which he was not present, being then in command at Dyrrhachium) he sailed for Africa, and took

command of the Pompeian garrison in Utica. On the defeat of Scipio and Labienus by Caesar at Thapsus, Cato, recognizing that the cause was lost, committed suicide (B.C. 46). On his model virtue cf. Val. Max. II. 10. 8 *omnibus numeris perfecta uirtus, quae quidem effecit ut quisquis sanctum atque egregium ciuem significare uelit sub nomine Catonis definiat.*

C. Caesar: in his *Anticatones*. Soon after the announcement of Cato's suicide, Cicero published a panegyric upon him, called by his name, *Cato*, in which he set forth more particularly the excellences of his personal character. This provoked Caesar to a reply, and he found time at about the date of the battle of Munda to publish two books *Anticatones*, in which he complimented Cicero, but scored Cato's reputation unmercifully. Both works are known to us by ancient report only.

3. ebrii: Plutarch remarks upon devotion to wine as a growing failing of Cato's; *Cat. min.* 6 προιόντι τῷ χρόνῳ μάλιστα προσίετο πίνειν, ὥστε πολλάκις ἐν οἴνῳ διάγειν εἰς ὄρθρον; and its inconsistency with the rest of his stern character was so striking as to provoke frequent remark even in the following generation; cf. Sen. *Tranq.* 17. 4 *Cato uino laxabat animum curis publicis fatigatum*; 17. 9 *Catoni ebrietas obiecta est: facilius efficiet, quisquis obiecerit, hoc crimen honestum quam turpem Catonem*; Mart. II. 89. Perhaps the younger Cato was but trying to emulate his distinguished ancestor in this as in other things; cf. of Cato Censor, Hor. *Carm.* III. 21. 11 f. *narratur et prisci Catonis | saepe mero caluisse uirtus*; Cic. *Sen.* 46 *ego uero propter sermonis delectationem tempestiuis quoque conuiuiis delector, nec cum aequalibus solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum uestra etiam aetate atque nobiscum.*

4. apparatus: embracing the 'elaboration' of cookery and service, such as was carried to an extreme in Trimalchio's famous dinner (Petr. 31 ff.).

neque enim .. possint nisi ut: cf. the same construction in II. 11. 16 (Sel. 17) n.

28. (III. 16.)

The true greatness of the elder Arria.—The Nepos to whom this letter is addressed may be identified with the Nepos of two other letters (II. 3; VI. 19), and he with the (P.) Metilius (Sabinus) Nepos of IV. 26, who was then about to take command of some province, and is mentioned in the *Acta Fratrum Arualium* (A.D. 105) as admitted to that college. His place

therein was filled by another election in 118, presumably after his death. Nothing more is known of him.

2. Fanniae: wife of Heluidius Priscus, and granddaughter of Caecina Paetus and Arria; cf. III. 11. 3 (Sel. 26) n., and the *stemma* there given.

Arriae: wife of Caecina Paetus (see *stemma* under III. 11. 3 n.,—Sel. 26), who was involved in the uprising of Camillus Scribonianus, governor of Dalmatia, against Claudius. He was brought from Dalmatia to Rome for trial, found guilty, and forced to commit suicide (A.D. 42). Arria's courageous example to him is commemorated also in Dio Cass. LX. 16. 6 f., and in Mart. I. 13. With her action in sharing her husband's death may be compared that of the woman of Como (VI. 24), of the wife of the philosopher Seneca (Tac. *Ann.* XV. 63), and of the mother-in-law and daughter of L. Vetus (Tac. *Ann.* XVI. 11).

3. Caecina Paetus: see *stemma* (*l.c.*) and preceding note. Paetus had been consul (§ 8), but the year is unknown.

4. quotiens intraret: cf. I. 12. 7 (Sel. 8) n. *quotiens intrasset.*

quid ageret: colloquial; cf. I. 3. 1 (Sel. 3) *quid agit Comum*; II. 11. 25 (Sel. 17) *quid segetes agunt*; III. 20. 11 *illa uulgaria 'quid agis.'*

6. gloria et aeternitas ante oculos erant: with the phraseology cf. IX. 3. 1 *mihi nisi praemium aeternitatis ante oculos, pingue illud altumque otium placeat.* Pliny's own persistent passion for posthumous and enduring fame leads him much to misapprehend the more unconscious motives of the human heart.

7. Scribonianus: M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus had been consul in A.D. 32, and ten years later was proconsul of Illyricum. It was a time of great dissatisfaction with the rule of Claudius, and Scribonianus boldly (Suet. *Claud.* 35) raised the standard of revolt, proclaiming the ancient republic (Dio Cass. LX. 15). But the troops declined to follow him into Italy, and he fled to an island, where he was killed by one of his own soldiers (Tac. *Hist.* II. 75; but Dio, with less probability, says that he killed himself).

8. seruulos: probably a diminutive of depreciation.

aliquos: the extreme subdivision of labour among slaves in ancient Rome is well known (Marquardt *Privatl.*[2] pp. 137 ff.). Arria mentions personal services that would ordinarily be held to require at least three several slaves.

9. uxori Scriboniani: Vibia by name; cf. Tac. *Ann.* XII. 52.

cum illa profiteretur indicium, *when she turned state's* [in Great Britain *king's*] *evidence*, with regard to the accomplices in the uprising, concerning whom Claudius in his fear made a very thorough investigation (Dio *l.c.*). Vibia probably saved her life thereby, as her sentence was merely that of banishment (Tac. *Ann.* XII. 52).

ego ... audiam: the subjunctive is thus used since the earliest days of Latin literature (ordinarily as here with the pronominal subject expressed) in argumentative questions of surprise, challenge, or indignation.

occisus est: agreeing with the account of Tacitus, and not with that of Dio (cf. notes above).

et, *and yet*: cf. III. 1. 9 (Sel. 23) n. *et antiquo.*

10. Thrasea: P. Fannius Thrasea Paetus, a native of Padua, husband of Caecinia Arria, the daughter of Caecina Paetus and the elder Arria, was a very prominent statesman during the reigns of Claudius and Nero, but had clearly shown his opposition to Nero, and for three years (A.D. 63-66) abstained entirely from public deliberations. This very fact increased his danger when, in 66, he was charged with treason, and allowed only to choose the manner of his death. His wife earnestly desired to follow her mother's example, but he dissuaded her for the sake of their daughter, Fannia, already for more than fifteen years the wife of Heluidius Priscus. He also forbade his young friend, Arulenus Rusticus (cf. I. 5. 2 n.,—Sel. 4), a tribune, from ruining himself by attempting to exercise an antiquated right of veto. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XVI. 21-35; Dio Cass. LXII. 26; Suet. *Nero* 37; and the *stemma* in III. 11. 3 n. (Sel. 26).

uis ergo filiam tuam, etc.: cf. note above on the actual event twenty-four years later.

11. nihil agitis, *you accomplish nothing*: cf. I. 9. 8 (Sel. 6) n. ***satius est***, etc.

ut male moriar: cf. *per contra* II. 20. 8 (Sel. 22) *bonam mortem.*

12. cathedra: cf. II. 17. 21 (Sel. 21) n. *cathedras.*

aduerso parieti, *straight against the wall*: so the young Spartan died rather than be a slave (Sen. *Ep.* 77. 14 *infixum parieti caput rupit*); so the Spanish conspirator escaped further torture (Tac. *Ann.* IV. 45 *proripuit se custodibus saxoque caput adflixit ut statim exanimaretur*); and so Cato said he could die if his son persisted in hiding his sword (Plut. *Cat. min.* 68 *καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἅπαξ κατάξαντα πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον ἀποθανεῖν ἔνεστι*).

13. uidenturne, etc.: cf. II. 17. 29 (Sel. 21) n. *iustisne de causis.*

ad quod per haec peruentum est: we must apparently understand that the remonstrances of Thrasea and the watch kept upon her were in the short interval after the condemnation of her husband but before his death; and that when her determination was so clearly indicated, her family ceased their opposition, and she showed Paetus the way to death (cf the case of Seneca's wife in this respect; Tac. *Ann.* XV. 63). Mommsen's emendation *per quod ad haec* does violence, not merely to Pliny's text, but to historical probability.

cum interim: cf. III. 7. 11 (Sel. 25) n. *cum interim.*

unde colligitur: Pliny has proved his point by three examples *scholastica lege* (cf. II. 20. 9 n.,—Sel. 22).

quod initio dixi: cf. I. 5. 16 (Sel. 4) n. *ut idem saepius dicam.*

29. (III. 21.)

The death of Martial.—Cornelius Priscus, to whom this sole letter is addressed, is mentioned but once more in Pliny's correspondence (V. 20. 7), and that only as being an ex-consul, and speaking on one occasion (about 105 or 106 A.D.) in the senate. An inscription shows him to have been *proconsul* of Asia in 120 A.D. (Hermes IV. 178).

1. Valerium Martialem: the greatest epigrammatist of the world, and one of its most disagreeable literary characters; living by the careful adulation of the great and rich, whether good or bad, and content so to live; capable of the keenest moral discernment, and preferring to cater to the lowest tastes. His last book of epigrams (*Lib.* XII.) was finished at Bilbilis, in Spain, and (at least in its preliminary form) published at the end of 101 A.D., though Friedländer (see his edition, Einleitung p. 67) and Stobbe think it was later revised, enlarged, and reissued by the poet. Martial's death is not mentioned elsewhere. Mommsen thinks that Book XII. was published in the spring of 101, and that Martial's death may be taken as following speedily thereafter (Étude, etc, p. 14, and App. C.): Friedländer, on the other hand, thinks he may have lived till 104.

salis, fellis, candoris, *wit, acrimony, goodnature*; common characterizations of a satirical style: cf. Ovid on his own verses, *Trist.* II. 563 ff. *non ego mordaci destrinxi carmine quenquam. | nec meus ullius crimina uersus habet. | candidus a salibus suffusis felle refugi: | nulla uenenato littera mixta ioco*

est. So Martial speaks (VII. 25) of the *amarum fel* of epigram. Cf. also I. 16. 5 (Sel. 11) n. *amaritudinis*.

2. prosecutus, *honoured*: originally of showing honour to a person by accompanying him to or from the forum, or for a space on his departure from the city: see v. 5. 2 (Sel. 37) n. *prosecutus est*; VI. 4. 1 (Sel. 42) n. *prosequi*.

uiatico, *a parting gift*: probably not used here in precisely its literal sense of 'travelling expenses'; cf. II. 11. 23 (Sel. 17) n. *unguentarii*: and X. 43 *terna milia, quae uiatici nomine annua dabantur legato*.

secedentem: cf. I. 9. 3 (Sel. 6) n. *cum secesseris*. Martial had been silent three years when, in 101 A.D., he issued his *Liber* XII. from his retirement in Spain (*ubi . . . secessimus*: Lib. XII. *praef.*); and the final departure from Rome probably occurred in 98.

uersiculis: the diminutive is apparently used to mark Pliny's (affected) modesty about referring to verses complimentary to himself.

3. fuit moris: cf. II. 19. 8 *illis erat moris*; VII. 27. 14 (Sel. 54) *reis moris est*; VIII. 19. 2 *est mihi moris*; and the partitive construction in I. 12. 7 (Sel. 8) *habebat hoc moris*.

honoribus: (sc. *ab urbibus*) in the case of those who sang the praises of cities: so *e.g.* Ennius was given Roman citizenship (Cic. *Brut.* 79).

pecunia: in the case of those who extolled individuals. Simonides was said to be the first who sold his Muse for coin; but Pindar, and many a later bard,—including such a man as Horace,—did not hesitate to make a living by the gifts of the patrons they served by their songs. Nor was the custom a reprehensible one in the England of the eighteenth century. And Pliny was just the man to delight to play the Maecenas.

4. tenerem: sc. *memoriā*, as not infrequently (see VII. 9. 3,—Sel. 49,—n. *teneas*). So in IV. 27 Pliny praises Sentius Augurinus for certain verses written in praise of him, and, with some affectation of difficulty in recollection, writes them out for his correspondent.

in libro: *sc.* Mart. X. 19 (in the Phalaecean metre).

5. musam: *mea Thalia* (Mart. X. 19. 3).

Esquiliis: at the upper end of the Subura, near the *lucus Orphei*, a locality still marked by the churches of S. Lucia and S. Martino 'in Orfea.'

sed ne, etc.: so Horace bids the messenger carry his book

to Augustus (*Ep.* I. 13 *init.*) *Augusto reddes signata uolumina, Vini, | si ualidus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet*, etc.

tempore non tuo : cf. note below on *hora tua.*

centum ... uirorum : cf. I. 5. 4 (Sel. 4) n. *centumuiros.*

Arpinis (for the usual *Arpinatibus*) : *i.e.* of Cicero, a native of Arpinum. The compliment is the more effective because Pliny professed himself a follower of Cicero ; cf. I. 2. 4 (Sel. 2) n. *Marci.*

seras ad lucernas : when the *comissatio* was on : cf. III. 1. 9 (Sel. 23) n. *conuiuium* ; Marq. *Privatl.*[2] pp. 331 ff.

haec hora est tua : cf. Sen. *Med.* 1017 *meus dies est, tempore accepto utimur* ; Stat. *Silu.* II. 7. 20 *uestra est ista dies ; fauete, Musae !* Sil. Ital. XII. 193 *dexter deus, horaque nostra est* ; S. Luke 22. 53 αὕτη ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἡ ὥρα.

Lyaeus (Grk. Λυαῖος) : an epithet of Bacchus as the deliverer from care (but cf. Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* IV. 58 where the epithet is said to be given ἀπὸ τοῦ λύειν *quod nimio uino membra soluantur !*) ; cf. Anacreont. 47 Bergk[4] τοῦ Διὸς ὁ παῖς ὁ Βάκχος, | ὁ λυσίφρων ὁ Λυαῖος, etc.

rigidi Catones : cf. III. 12. 2. (Sel. 27) n. *Catoni.* But Martial elswhere warns Cato away from his books ; cf. Mart. I. *praef.* ; XI. 2. Cf. the contrast between Pliny and Cato drawn by Sentius in IV. 27. 4 *ille o Plinius, ille quot Catones.*

6. meritone : cf. II. 17. 29 (Sel. 21) n. *iustine.*

quantum maximum potuit : cf. II. 13. 10 (Sel. 19) n. *quantum amplissimum potes.*

tanquam essent futura : and to make the compliment sure of life, even if the rest of Martial should die, Pliny embodies it in this letter, as he does the verses of Sentius in IV. 27.

daturus : cf. VII. 27. 14 (Sel. 54) n. *futurus.*

LIBER IV.

30. (IV. 2.)

The death of the son of Regulus.—To Attius Clemens is addressed one other letter (I. 10, —Sel. 7), but he is otherwise unknown.

1. Regulus : cf. I. 5. 1 (Sel. 4) n. *M. Regulo.*

filium amisit: whether as the result of the perjuries mentioned in II. 20. 6 (Sel. 22) is nowhere stated. According to the probable date of composition of Mart. VI. 38, which celebrates the infant precocity of the child as shown in a liking for court-scenes, he must have been born in A.D. 87 or 88, and therefore, from the possible date of this book of the letters (cf. Introd. pp. xxxvii ff.) his death occurred not far from the time when he would have taken the *toga uirilis*.

nescio an: perhaps with an inclination toward the negative; cf. I. 15. 3 (Sel. 10) n. *nescio an*.

2. emancipauit: the son could not legally hold property unless set free from the absolute *patria potestas* into which every child of a Roman citizen was born, if born in legal wedlock. And so long as the father lived, and both father and son retained their rights as citizens, the *patria potestas* could be terminated only by the voluntary act of the father, thrice repeated, in selling his son to a third party, who after each successive sale set him free, as he might a duly purchased slave: cf. Gaius I. 132; Ulp. *frag.* X. 1. The theoretical right of a father to sell his children at pleasure was thus made use of, by legal fiction, to secure their legal independence.

ut heres matris exsisteret: the wife of Regulus was (as was usual in marriages at this period) evidently not married to him in any one of the ways that brought her *in manum mariti*, and so had not forfeited her right to hold property. And she had desired to leave her property directly to her son, who could be qualified to hold it in his own right only by being duly emancipated from the *patria potestas*, to which act Regulus assented; cf. a similar case in VIII. 18. 4 *Curtilius Mancia, perosus generum suum . . . sub ea condicione filiam eius, neptem suam, instituerat heredem, si esset manu patris emissa*. Pliny apparently wishes to convey the intimation that the mother distrusted the father's good faith by her action, an inference that is not warranted by the facts presented, and is accordingly unjust to Regulus.

mancipatum: with a play on the meaning of the word, which is occasionally used technically of deeding over to another (like *emancipare*), but also meant 'to capture' (*manu capere*) instead of 'to release.' The intimation is that the act of Regulus in freeing his son was only a shrewd dodge to cement more fully his influence over the lad, now become, actually or prospectively, rich in his own right.

ex moribus hominis: *sc.* as a fortune-hunter.

foeda: especially because unnatural; for to hope to be made his son's heir was to assume the likelihood and therefore to conceive the desire of outliving him,—an ill-omened thought to the Romans, in whose epitaphs parents occasionally go so far as to reproach themselves for surviving the children whose death is commemorated (cf. *e.g.* Wilmanns *Ex. Inscr. Lat.* 608 b CRVDELIS INPIA MATER, etc.), and not infrequently comment upon being forced by fate or by the angry gods to do for their children what their children ought to do for them (cf. *e.g.* Wilmanns 608 a, 2698; Buecheler *Carm. Lat. Epigr.* 818, 819, 976, 1050). Cf. also Cic. *Sen.* 84 *proficiscar . . . ad Catonem meum . . . cuius a me corpus est crematum, quod contra decuit ab illo meum.*

simulatione: but the more natural theory would be, in consideration of the deep grief of Regulus over the death of his son, that he was simply an unusually fond and doting father.

captabat: cf. II. 20. 7 (Sel. 22) n. *captare.*

3. mannulos: Gallic ponys, much favoured by the Romans for driving.

et iunctos et solutos, *in pairs and single*; *i.e.* for driving and for riding: cf. II. 17. 2 (Sel. 21) *iter iunctis paulo longius, equo breue.*

luscinias, etc: birds were common pets among the Romans from the earliest period; so the sparrow (*passer*; Plaut. *Cas.* 138; Cat. 2, 3), the dove (*columba*; Plaut. *Cas. l.c.*; Mart. I. 7. 1), the magpie (*pica*; Mart. XIV. 76), the jackdaw, duck, quail (*monedula, anas, coturnix*; Plaut. *Capt.* 1002), and others.

circa rogum trucidauit: Regulus was but reviving a very ancient custom, and one widely observed among very different races even down to the present. The original idea doubtless was that the favourite animals (or even human beings) thus slain accompanied the dead and served him in the spirit world. So Achilles slew horses and dogs and twelve Trojan captives at the funeral pyre of Patroclus, and burned their bodies with his (Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 171 ff.). And the same custom has prevailed among certain tribes of Africa, and of the North American Indians.

4. nec dolor erat ille, etc.: *i.e.* it was too much overdone to be genuine grief.

cuncti detestantur, oderunt: Pliny's statement is not supported by the facts he himself mentions.

et: in the sense of *et tamen*; cf. III. 1. 9 (Sel. 23) n. *et antiquo*.

in Regulo demerendo, *in courting the favour of Regulus* (rich and now childless, and so more open to the attacks of legacy-hunters).

Regulum imitantur: who would put himself to any trouble to oblige one from whom he hoped a legacy; cf. II. 20 (Sel. 22).

5. trans Tiberim: and so a long distance to go for a call. The majority of wealthy Romans lived at this time, as did Pliny himself, in the northeastern quarter of the city.

ripam, etc.: the statues apparently stood on a wall that bounded the gardens on the very edge of the river, as in the case of some of the ancient and mediaeval villas of the Trastevere excavated (and destroyed) during the recent improvements of the Tiber-bed. On the custom of decorating gardens with statues cf. also VIII. 18. 11 *ut amplissimos hortos instruxerit plurimis et antiquissimis statuis*.

6. uexat: by forcing the citizens to come so far to pay him formal calls of condolence.

insaluberrimo tempore: probably in the heat of midsummer, when over-exertion and exposure to the sun were sources of danger.

31. (IV. 7.)

Regulus mourning for his son.—Catius Lepidus, here addressed, is otherwise unknown.

1. uim, *energy*.

mirum est quam: cf. I. 6. 2 (Sel. 5) n. *mirum est ut*.

imagines, *busts*.

facere, agit, effingit: good examples of the causative use of verbs.

officinis, *studios*.

2. de uita eius: such panegyric essays in biography as a tribute to deceased friends were common. So Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio wrote (and doubtless read) panegyric memorials of Thrasea Paetus and Helvidius Priscus (cf. I. 5. 2, 3, —Sel. 4); and so Pliny composed and read a similar panegyric upon the son of Vestricius Spurinna (cf. III. 10; II. 7), who died when yet a young man. Examples of such *encomia* yet extant are the *Agesilaus* of

Xenophon, the *Evagoras* of Isocrates, and the *Agricola* of Tacitus.

recitauit: cf. I. 13. 1 (Sel. 9) n. *recitaret*.

mille: probably only as indicating indefinite multitude; cf. I. 15. 2 (Sel. 10) n. *mille*.

per totam Italiam prouinciasque: doubtless with similar exaggeration to that in *mille*, and in other expressions about Regulus in this and the preceding letter.

dimisit, *has scattered broadcast*.

publice, *to the corporations*: cf. v. 7. 5 *haec ego scribere publice* [*sc.* to the municipal corporation directly] *supersedi* (and he sends his message through an individual instead); so Cicero to Pompey in the East, *Fam.* v. 7. 1 *ex litteris tuis quas publice misisti cepi uoluptatem*. Notwithstanding Pliny's half-jocose exaggerations, Regulus doubtless sent copies of his encomium, with the request for its public reading, only to those towns with which he had some formal and personal connection, as *patronus* or otherwise.

decurionibus: the members, collectively or severally, of the local 'common council' of a *colonia* or *municipium*, corresponding to the senate at Rome. The body was also called *senatus*, *ordo*, *ordo decurionum*, *curia*, etc. Cf. II. 11. 23 (Sel. 17) *ordine*, and Marq. *Staatsverw.*[2] I. pp. 183 ff.

uocalissimus, *with a very good voice*.

qui legeret eum populo: as if it were a public proclamation forwarded from Rome.

3. bonis, malis: sc. *hominibus*.

ἀμαθία, etc., *ignorance begets boldness, reflection hesitation*: words of Pericles in his funeral oration over the dead at Marathon (Thuc. II. 40). So also Pope *Essay on Criticism* III. 66 *For fools rush in where angels fear to tread*; Shakspere *Rich. III.* act I. sc. 3 *That wrens make prey where eagles dare not perch*.

4. imbecillum latus, etc., *weak chest, thick utterance, stammering tongue, slow ideas, no memory,—in fact nothing but a perverted aptitude*: cf. Pliny's criticism of the speaking of Regulus in VI. 2. 2 (Sel. 41).

5. Herennius Senecio: cf. I. 5. 3 (Sel. 4) n. *Herennium Senecionem*.

Catonis: sc. *Vticensis*; cf. III. 12. 2 (Sel. 27) n. *Catoni*.

illud de oratore: cf. Quint. XII. 1. 1 *sit orator is qui a M. Catone finitur, uir bonus dicendi peritus*. The idea

perhaps goes back to Socrates; cf. Ioh. Sicel. on Hermog. rhet. graec. VI. 395 καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σωκράτης εἰώθει λέγειν, οἷος ὁ βίος, τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ λόγος· οἷος ὁ λόγος, τοιαῦται καὶ αἱ πράξεις (quoted by Cicero in *Tusc.* V. 47, and often referred to elsewhere).

6. municipio uestro: the place is unknown, but is surely not Comum, as some have suggested, which would doubtless be called *nostro*.

circulator: a 'juggler,' or 'mountebank,' if we may trust the authors of the earlier empire who use the word. But the glossaries suggest a public crier or Hyde Park orator; cf. *C.G.L.* II. p. 101. 4 *circulator* ὀχλαγωγος· ἀγυρτης (= III. p. 441. 81); IV. p. 34. 8 *circulator qui famam adportat periculi* (= V. p. 276. 55); IV. p. 318. 34 *circulator qui famam portat uel circuit.*

ἐπάρας, etc., *lifting up his voice and bellowing his exultation*: of Aeschines, whom Demosthenes (*De Cor.* 291) charges with rejoicing over the public woes and the discomfiture of his rival.

32. (IV. 11.)

The burying alive of a Vestal under Domitian.—To Cornelius Minicianus Pliny addresses one other letter (III. 9, on the prosecution of Caecilius Classicus in behalf of the province of Baetica), and for him he requests from Pompeius Falco a military tribunate (VII. 22), praising him most highly, as might be expected. An inscription from Bergamo (*C.I.L.* V. 5126, = Dessau 2722) shows that he attained no high honours, but survived Trajan (FLAMINI · DIVI · TRAIANI · MEDIOLANI).

1. audistine: on the introduction of the subject of a letter by a question cf. I. 5. 1 (Sel. 4) n. *uidistine*, and the precise similarity of opening in VIII. 8 (Sel. 57).

Valerium Licinianum: otherwise unknown.

profiteri, *is teaching* [*rhetoric*]: for this (post-classical) absolute use of the verb and with reference to this one profession, cf. §§ 2 and 14 of this letter, and II. 18. 3 *omnes qui profitentur audiero.* The word appears not to be used of any other profession thus absolutely, without a noun in immediate connection to define it precisely. But further citations are desirable. Cf. also *professor*, as in § 2.

praetorius hic: Suetonius (*Dom.* 8) in mentioning the punishment omits the name, but calls him *praetorius uir.*

rhetor: the school of the *rhetor* followed after that of the *grammaticus* in the training of the young, and was designed to inculcate the principles and the practice of public speaking and judicial pleading, both by precept and especially by example. Even men of years and experience might attend the exercises of a noted rhetorician,—as in the earlier period Cicero 'gave lessons to' Hirtius and Dolabella (*Fam.* IX. 16. 7; 18. 1). The *rhetor* originally was a Greek, and taught in Greek, and the attempt of Latin *rhetores* to gain a foothold was discouraged, even by censorial order (Gell. XV. 11. 2, of the year B.C. 92, and Suet. cited below). But beginning with Cicero's boyhood, the use of Latin as the instrument of the *rhetor* steadily grew, and in Pliny's time Latin *rhetores* (like Licinianus here) were common enough (cf. *e.g.* III. 3. 3). Pliny gives a good picture of a *rhetor* in his eulogy of Isaeus (II. 3). An outline history of the rhetorical schools is given by Suetonius; see *Rell.* Reiff. pp. 119 ff.; and cf. Friedländer *Sitteng.*[6] I. pp. 322 ff.

2. praefatione: cf. I. 13. 2 (Sel. 9) n. *praefationem.*

ex professoribus senatores: cf. Suet. *Rell.* p. 121 Reiff. *professorum ac doctorum copia adeo floruit ut nonnulli ex infima fortuna in ordinem senatorium atque ad summos honores processerint;* Iuu. 7. 197 f. *si Fortuna uolet, fies de rhetore consul; | si uolet haec eadem, fies de consule rhetor.* The history of such promotions began as early as the reign of Tiberius, when Iunius Otho, a rhetorician, became praetor (Tac. *Ann.* III. 66), and other specific instances can be cited, like that of Quintilian. The emperor Pertinax was once a *grammaticus* (*Vit. Pert.* 1. 4), and Eugenius, emperor of the West in 392, was a *rhetor*; on the other hand, the younger Dionysius, after being ruler of Syracuse, kept school at Corinth (Amm. Marc. XIV. 11. 30). On the general subject of the opening of the imperial senate to all sorts of people see Friedländer *Sitteng.*[6] I. pp. 228 ff., 238 ff.

professus: cf. § 1 n. *profiteri.*

3. pallio (Grk. ἱμάτιον): this garment, corresponding to the Roman toga as an outer garment, worn over a tunic, was an oblong, rectangular piece of cloth. It was thrown over the shoulder and around the body, but being much smaller than the Roman toga of the imperial period, did not lend itself to such a formal and elaborate system of folds.

intrasset: the occasion was evidently that of his first public appearance as *rhetor.*

togae iure. *the privilege of the toga*: that jealously guarded right of Roman citizens only: cf. Verg. *Aen.* I. 282

Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam. A foreigner had no right to wear the toga (cf. Suet. *Claud.* 15), and a banished man (if *deportatus*) lost what rights he had formerly possessed as a Roman citizen, except marriage.

quibus aqua et igni interdictum est: the formula of republican times for banishment (as in Cicero's case). In fact such easy exile as the republican *interdictio aquae et ignis* resembled the punishment of *relegatio* under the empire; but in theory its place was taken by the more severe *deportatio*: cf I. 5. 5 (Sel. 4) n. *relegatus*.

se composuit: of settling the outer garment into proper shape; cf. the instructions of Quintilian, XI. 3. 156 *cum iudex . . . aut praeco . . . dicere de causa inserit, leniter est consurgendum; tum in componenda toga, uel, si necesse erit, etiam ex integro iniicienda . . . paulum commorandum, ut et amictus sit decentior, et protinus aliquid spatii ad cogitandum*; Ou *Met.* IV. 317 ff. *nec tamen ante adiit . . . | quam se composuit, quam circumspexit amictus, | et finxit uultum.*

Latine: though, being dressed as a Greek, he might (so he bitterly implies) be taken to be a Greek *rhetor*.

4 incesti scelere: the Vestal Virgins were regarded as the daughters of the community, and violation of chastity by or with them was considered as incest: cf. Isid. *Orig.* V. 26. 24 *incesti iudicium in uirgines sacratas uel propinquas sanguine constitutum est.*

5. confessus est: the account of Suetonius says (*Dom.* 8), *cui, dubia etiam tum causa et incertis quaestionibus atque tormentis de semet professo, exsilium indulsit*: but cf. § 11 below

ingenti inuidia: Pliny apparently exaggerates; cf. notes below.

6. Vestalium: sc. *Virginum*, as commonly (also *Virgo* alone, as in VII. 19. 1,—Sel. 50). On the origin, organization, and duties of the *Virgines Vestales* see Marquardt *Staatsverw.*[2] III. pp. 336 ff.

maximam: the abbess of the community of Vestals, attaining that rank by seniority of service, was called *Virgo Vestalis Maxima* (some grammatical variations of title are found).

defodere uiuam: the prescribed punishment of a Vestal who was convicted of breaking her vow of chastity was to be placed upon a bier, as if dead, solemnly conducted in due funeral procession through the city to a place (the *Campus Sceleratus*) by the Porta Collina, just inside the Servian wall,

and there ushered into an underground tomb or cell of stone, which was immediately covered with earth (cf. Plut. *Num.* 10; Dionys. II. 67). This method of capital punishment seems to have been resorted to out of reverence for the Vestal's office, which forbade violent hands to be laid upon her. Yet Dionysius (I. 78) says that in the earlier days the errant Vestal was beaten to death with rods (as were her paramours even in imperial times), and one instance can be cited (that of Vrbinia, Dionys. IX. 40) where flogging preceded execution by burial, as in the case of ordinary criminals flogging preceded execution (see II. 11. 8,—Sel. 17,—n. *plura supplicia*). And other lapses from duty on the part of the Vestal were punished by flogging at the hands of the Pontifex Maximus (Plut. *Num.* 10). Numerous instances are recorded of the execution of Vestals (see especially Brohm *De iure uirginum uestalium*, Thorn, 1835). It is worthy of recollection that in mediaeval (and later?) times the breach of the monastic vow of chastity was sometimes similarly punished by Christians.

illustrari eius modi exemplis: the well-known effort of Domitian after the purification of the Roman religion is little understood by the modern mind, and naturally Pliny does not try to do him justice. He had undertaken seriously the reform of the morals of the Vestal community, which Vespasian and Titus had neglected, and the indications are that the people in general approved his action. Three Vestals, convicted of unchastity, he had allowed to commit suicide, and had simply banished their paramours (Suet. *Dom.* 8). Dio (LXVII. 3. 4) says that he prided himself (and doubtless justly) on his clemency in not treating them, as he did the later case of Cornelia, *more uetere*.

saeculum, *reign*: only here in this sense in Books I.-IX. of Pliny's letters, but five times in the correspondence with Trajan (once from the emperor's own pen, X. 97. 2,—Sel. 105,—'the spirit of our age'); cf. X. 1. 2 (Sel. 73); 2. 2 (Sel. 74); 3A. 2 (Sel. 75); 23. 2; 37. 3 (Sel. 92). Elsewhere in the letters the word means 'the age' (in the quotation from Martial, III. 21. 5, 'coming ages'); cf. I. 5. 11 (Sel. 4) n. *saeculi*. In the *Pan.* the more frequent meaning is 'reign'; cf. *e.g.* *Pan.* 18, 30, 40, 46.

pontificis maximi iure: Pliny expresses no doubt of the legality of Domitian's action, and it is curious to note that he rests his reproaches more upon the character of Domitian himself than upon even the antiquated inhumanity of the penalty.

reliquos pontifices: the emperor regularly succeeded to the title, rights, and duties of the *pontifex maximus* of republican times. As head of the state religion his jurisdiction over the Vestal Virgins was that of the *patria potestas*, which was absolute, even to the infliction of a death sentence. But as the *pater familias* was not supposed to act as a judge in such serious matters without calling into consultation a *consilium* of near relatives, or of neighbours, so apparently the *pontifex maximus* was not expected to act without consulting the whole college of pontiffs. On the *consilium* of a magistrate cf. I. 9. 2 (Sel. 6) n. *in consilium*.

Regiam: originally the royal palace, if the tradition of name can be trusted, and then the office, if not the actual residence, of the *pontifex maximus*, as the chief religious successor of the king. The building stood on the Sacra Via to the east of the temple of Julius Caesar, and its ruins have recently been thoroughly excavated for the first time by Sig. Comm. Boni.

Albanam villam: the so-called *Arx Albana*, an immense and strongly walled area, developed by Domitian out of a simpler country-estate of the earlier emperors, and including within it not only a magnificent imperial residence, but baths, temple, theatre, amphitheatre, and quarters for a large body of troops.—It is by no means certain that the *pontifex maximus* could not legally pass sentence under his *patria potestas* anywhere, and Domitian was fond of summoning councils to his Albanum (cf. the famous case of the turbot in Iuu. 4).

absentem inauditamque: Pliny disregards the fact that this was not a trial, but the mere passing of sentence, at which the presence of the defendant was not required even under the forms of the ordinary procedure, *e.g.* of the Roman senate. And Suetonius says (*Dom.* 8), *Corneliam, maximam uirginem, absolutam olim, dein longo interuallo repetitam atque conuictam defodi imperauit*, implying no idea of injustice in the matter, though he is by no means a partisan of Domitian. New evidence had very probably been discovered; and in a case of family discipline, as this theoretically was, no principle about repeated jeopardy for the same offence could be recognized.

cum ipse, etc.: cf. Suet. *Dom.* 22; Dio Cass. LXVII. 3: the *argumentum ad hominem* is doubtless rhetorically effective, but Pliny must have recognized its lack of force here as against a proper judicial sentence.

7. missi pontifices: the *pontifex maximus* was supposed to officiate in person (Plut. *Num. l.c.*), but apparently did not on this occasion, the *promagister* of the college acting for him; cf. Mommsen *Staatsr.* II.³ 23; *Strafr.* 929 n. 1.

qua sacra faciente: the worship of Vesta was, as might be expected of a household worship, intimately connected with the imperial family and its welfare; and more than once on occasions of public calamity in Rome it had been found, on searching for the cause of the ill-will of the gods, that the rites of Vesta had been conducted by a forsworn priestess, upon whose punishment the public evils duly ceased (cf. *e.g.* the case of Vrbinia, cited above, Dionys. IX. 40). But as Domitian had had good fortune in war, Cornelia must be chaste.

uicit, triumphavit: Domitian celebrated two magnificent triumphs, one in A.D. 83, after his victory over the Chatti, and another in 89, after the Dacian war.

8. blandiens haec an irridens: Domitian was exceedingly proud of his military successes, but his disaffected subjects ridiculed them as mere shams,—a not unintelligible judgment, but one for the most part unjust.

dixit, donec, etc.: the culprit was tied to the bier and gagged so that she could neither struggle nor speak on her way to execution (Plut. *Num. l.c.*).

nescio an: cf. I. 15. 3 (Sel. 10) n. *nescio an.* No doubt of her actual guilt is expressed by any other writer.

9. demitteretur: a flight of wooden steps was placed, leading down into the cell, which was furnished with a small supply of food and drink. The culprit, still gagged, was loosed from the bier and placed upon the first step (regularly by the *pontifex maximus* himself). The assembled *pontifices* averted their faces, and she made the descent unaided and alone. The steps were immediately drawn up, and their place filled with earth.

stola: the long, full, girded tunic, reaching to the ground, and terminating in a deep attached flounce (the *instita*), which was the especial and honourable garment of Roman matrons (Fest. p. 125. 15 *matronas appellabant eas fere quibus stolas habendi ius erat*), was also worn by the Vestals. They wore as well the ordinary *palla* as an outer garment, and the *suffibulum*, an oblong piece of cloth, as a draped headdress; see the statues found in the *Atrium Vestae* at Rome, and figured *inter alia* in Lanciani *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, pp. 138 ff.

carnifex: the public executioner apparently assisted the presiding pontiff in this last scene, doubtless performing the manual acts necessary.

manum daret: *sc.* to assist her from above as she descended, since he saw her in danger of stumbling.

πολλὴν, etc., *and took much thought to fall becomingly*: so Talthybius said of Polyxena in Eurip. *Hec.* 569, when she was sacrificed to the shade of Achilles; cf. Ou. *Fast.* II. 833 f. (of Lucretia) *tunc quoque, iam moriens, ne non procumbat honeste,* | *respicit. haec etiam cura cadentis erat.*

10. comitio: a small area adjoining the Forum Magnum on the north, recently excavated for the first time. It was the original meeting-place of the assembly of the people, and therefore continued to be the place for certain judicial procedure. In the time of Julius Caesar it was made a part of the Forum, its proper area being thereby much restricted.

uirgis caederetur: the anciently prescribed punishment of a Vestal's paramours; cf. § 6 n. *defodere uiuam.* The culprit was beaten to death while hanging on a cross; see Mommsen *Strafr.* 919 f. Suetonius speaks of more than one man as suffering with Celer (*Dom.* 8).

11. quod, etc.: this was not the charge, but merely the fact that aroused suspicion against Licinianus. The freedwoman had been wanted for examination in the case against her mistress.

12. Herennius Senecio: cf. I. 5. 3 (Sel. 4) n. *Herennium Senecionem.*

κεῖται Πάτροκλος, *there lies Patroclus*: spoken by Antilochus in Hom. *Il.* XVIII. 20, in his brief announcement to Achilles of the death of his friend: cf. Quint. X. 1. 49 *narrare uero quis breuius quam qui mortem nuntiat Patrocli?*

recessit, *offers no defence*: like the plea of *nolo contendere* in our criminal law.

13. bona publicarentur: the penalty of *deportatio* involved the confiscation of the culprit's property; that of *relegatio* did not, unless so provided specifically: cf. I. 5. 5 (Sel. 4) n. *relegatus*; and on **publicarentur**, I. 1. 1 (Sel. 1) n. *publicarem.*

molle: not in itself, but in comparison with death by flogging.

14. clementia diui Neruae: Nerva recalled the exiles of Domitian's reign who had suffered unjustly (cf. I. 5. 10,—Sel. 4), and his reason for not recalling Licinianus must have been that public sentiment believed his punishment not

unjust, or else that, having pleaded guilty, he could not properly be pardoned.

diui: Julius Caesar, in addition to the reception of certain pseudo-divine honours during his lifetime, was after his death formally enrolled among the gods of the Roman pantheon, with the title of *diuus*, by decree of the senate and people. Augustus and a large number of later emperors were similarly honoured (not, however, certain unpopular rulers like Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian); and the formal style of reference to a deceased emperor who had attained Olympus was by his divine title, as in the text.

translatus est in Siciliam: *i.e.* the place of his *deportatio* was changed for the better. Or it may be that the sentence of *deportatio* was commuted to that of *relegatio*.

profitetur, praefationibus: cf. §§ 1, 2 nn.

15. altius repetam: see II. 6. 1 (Sel. 16) n. *altius repetere*.

relegatum: 'subject of the infinitive' and *esse* omitted, as not infrequently in Pliny: cf. IV. 13. 1 (Sel. 33) n. *uenisse*.

16. non minus longa: so in II. 11. 25 (Sel. 17) Pliny demands an equally long letter in reply; cf. note there.

uersus, *lines*.

33. (IV. 13.)

The establishment of a *rhetor* at Comum.—On **Tacitus**, to whom this letter is addressed, cf. introd. note to I. 6 (Sel. 5).

1. uenisse: Pliny not infrequently omits the 'subject of the infinitive'; cf. *e.g.* IV. 11. 15 (Sel. 32) *relegatum*; IV. 19. 1 (Sel. 34) *euadere*; IV. 22. 6 (Sel. 35) *pasturum fuisse*; and Kraut pp. 9 ff. With the epanaleptic opening of the sentence (*uenisse gaudeo. uenisti autem*) cf. I. 1. 1 (Sel. 1) n. *colligerem publicaremque. collegi*; and § 10 below, *quod iniungo. iniungo autem*.

pauculis diebus: with this ablative of extent of time cf. II. 11. 14 (Sel. 17) n. *horis*; III. 5. 19 (Sel. 24) *tota uita*.

in Tusculano (*sc. praedio*, as usual): mentioned once again in V. 6. 45 *habes causas cur ego Tuscos meos Tusculanis, Tiburtinis, Praenestinisque praeponam*.

in manibus: cf. I. 2. 6 (Sel. 2) n. *in manibus*.

2. quasi praecursoria: cf. IV. 9. 23 *habebis hanc interim epistulam ut πρόδρομον*. The Roman magnate had a number of *praecursores* to go before him when he went abroad, both to clear the way, and to announce by their presence the

approach of a person of dignity: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 123. 7; *Dig.* XXXII. 99. 5; *Pan.* 76 *ut illum nullus praecursorum tumultus detineret* (of Trajan's unassuming habits).

3. patria mea: sc. *Nouum Comum*; see Introd. p. xv.

salutandum: in the usual morning *salutatio*; cf. III. 7. 4 (Sel. 25) n. *salutabatur*.

praetextatus: *i.e.* not yet of sufficient age to assume the *toga uirilis*, on which cf. I. 9. 2 (Sel. 6) n. *officio togae uirilis*.

studes, *do you go to school?*

etiam, *yes*: but more frequently used in an affirmative answer to a question (even in the colloquial language of comedy) when there is an appearance of the question arousing a dormant recollection; cf. *e.g.* Plaut. *Most.* 999 f. TH. *numquid processit ad forum hodie noui?* | SI. *etiam.* TH. *quid tandem?*; Cic. *Qu. Fr.* III. 1. 24 *quid praeterea? quid? etiam! Gabinius*, etc. But in Pliny cf. II. 3. 9; V. 3. 7 (Sel. 36); VI. 2. 8 (Sel. 41); VI. 28. 3; VII. 17. 5, in all of which cases it concedes a point ('granted'), but only to follow the concession by a limitation (*sed, si, si uero*).

Mediolani: Mediolanium (Milan) is about forty kilometres, or twenty-five miles (English), distant from Como in a straight line. It was the chief city of the Insubres, and had attained great prosperity under Roman rule by the time of Augustus (Strab. 213), which good fortune went on increasing in later centuries, when it became an imperial residence of the West.

praeceptores: the reference is not to the so-called *litteratores* and *grammatici*, who successively carried the instruction of children through the ordinary branches of learning, including the encyclopaedic study of works of literature, but to the *rhetores*, on whom cf. IV. 11. 1 (Sel. 32) n. *rhetor*.

4. intererat: the imperfect indicative (with a subject-infinitive) of a state of things existing in past time, and continuing into the present, without the fulfilment in fact of the condition indicated by the dependent infinitive.

5. nondum liberos habeo: Pliny's marriage to Calpurnia was apparently between about 102 and 104 A.D. (cf. X. 2. 2, —Sel. 74,—n. *matrimonii*), and the present reference might indicate that this letter was written not more than a year or two after that event. Pliny's hope of children was once frustrated (VIII. 10, 11), and there is no indication that any were later born to him.

6. ambitu corrumperetur, *should be mismanaged in accordance with private ends*: for such a gift would be invested in some way (cf. VII. 18) that would put it under the control of the *decuriones*, who might indeed manage the fund well enough, but might not select the worthiest teachers to enjoy its proceeds.

publice, *by the local government.* The first recorded engagement and payment of *rhetores* by the state is under Vespasian, who engaged both Latin and Greek *rhetores* to teach at Rome (first among these the famous Quintilian), and paid them salaries from the *fiscus*. Under later emperors the custom of establishing such public schools at government expense spread to the provinces, and covered the lower class of *grammatici* and the higher of *philosophi*, as well as also physicians (*medici*). Cf. on the general subject Marquardt *Staatsverw.*[2] II. pp. 106 ff.; Friedländer *Sittenq.*[6] I. pp. 315 ff.

7. parentibus solis, etc.: Pliny's proposition, then, contemplated no public school managed by the municipal government, but a private venture of a joint-stock sort.

religio, *conscientious duty.*

8. ne ... [non]nisi dignus accipiat: **non** is rightly bracketed by Gesner and others after *ne*, which supplies the necessary negative with *nisi*; cf. I. 10. 4 (Sel. 7) n. *nisi sapiens non potest perspicere sapientem.*

10. altius repetenda: see II. 6. 1 (Sel. 16) n. *altius repetere.*

ad te: Tacitus appears here, as indeed thus far in the letters, as a distinguished orator and statesman, rather than as a historian: cf., however, VI. 16. 1, etc. (Sel. 45); VII. 33. 1 *auguror, nec me fallit augurium, historias tuas immortales futuras.*

fidem meam obstringam, *bind myself.*

illi iudicent, illi eligant: the candidate apparently must bring recommendations, and then give a sample lecture or declamation before the electors to prove his ability, as candidates for certain university professorships in England do to the present day: cf. the case of such a trial lecture described in Gell. XVI. 6. 1.

11. ut nihil: for the *ne quid* more common in final clauses, as also Pliny sometimes introduces by *ne* final clauses that convey a suggestion of result; of this latter sort III. 1. 6 (Sel. 23) furnishes an example; see also Kraut p. 33.

34. (IV. 19.)

The good qualities of Pliny's wife.—Calpurnia Hispulla, to whom this letter is addressed, was the daughter of Calpurnius Fabatus (cf. § 1 n. *auo*), and paternal aunt of Pliny's wife, Calpurnia. She had taken the place of an early lost mother to her brother's daughter, who was apparently the only grandchild of the family (VIII. 10. 2). References to her are numerous in the letters, and Pliny addresses to her directly one other epistle, in which he speaks of his wife's prospective recovery from a sudden and critical illness (VIII. 11). Hispulla apparently remained the typical maiden aunt throughout her life, living with her father at Comum, and surviving him (X. 120, 121,—Sel. 108, 109), as well as, probably, Pliny himself.

On Pliny's marriages see X. 2. 2 (Sel. 74) n. *duobus matrimoniis*. On his warm attachment to Calpurnia cf. his letters to her, VI. 4, 7; VII. 5 (Sel. 42, 43, 48). This letter was apparently written not many months after the marriage.

1. amita: a father's sister, a mother's sister being *matertera*.

patris amissi: he had been dead for some time when v. 11 was written (cf. note on *auo* below), but whether he died before Pliny's marriage to his daughter is entirely uncertain. It is strange that Pliny refers here only to Calpurnia's father, and not to her mother, whose place in the education of the orphan Hispulla had taken.

adfectum: entirely post-classical in the sense of 'affection' as a synonym for love.

non dubito ... fore: the construction of *non dubito* with an infinitive-clause occurs in Nepos, and becomes common in Livy and later writers. Pl. uses *non dub.* only once with *quin* (*Pan.* 14).

auo: *sc.* L. (?)Calpurnius L. f. Fabatus, who is known from a single reference in Tacitus (*Ann.* XVI. 8) to his danger under Nero in connection with the affair of Silanus, from a number of references in Pliny's letters, and from a single inscription now preserved at Comum (cf. text in Mommsen *Étude*, p. 89; *C.I.L.* v. 5267). He was an *eques*, who had served as *praefectus fabrum*, *tribunus militum*, and *praefectus cohortis*, but had pursued public life no further. At Comum, his native place and his home, he had filled the highest offices in the municipality, and was *flamen diui Augusti*. He owned estates in different parts of Italy (VI. 30. 2; VIII. 20. 3,—Sel. 59), and gave the municipality of Comum a portico in memory of his dead son and of himself (v. 11). He himself died about 110

or 112 A.D. (X. 120,—Sel. 108, and cf. intr. n. to X. 15,—Sel. 81) at a ripe old age (VII. 23. 1 ; VIII. 10. 2).

euadere : on the omission of the demonstrative subject see IV. 13. 1 (Sel. 33) n. *uenisse*.

2. acumen : as joined with *frugalitas*, probably referring not so much to high intellectual qualities (which are covered by later specifications) as to general 'ability' to manage a household.

frugalitas : one of the traditional virtues of a true Roman matron; cf. Columella *R.R.* XII. praef. *apud Romanos usque in patrum nostrorum memoriam . . . erat summa reuerentia cum concordia et diligentia mixta, flagrabatque mulier pulcherrima diligentiae aemulatione, studens negotia uiri cura sua maiora atque meliora reddere*, etc. ; and the epitaph in Wilmanns *Exem. Inscr. Lat.* 549 (Orelli 4848) . . . *suom mareitum corde delexit souo . . . domum seruauit, lanam fecit.*

meos libellos habet, etc. : cf. VI. 7. 1 (Sel. 43).

3. adsensum, clamores : on applause in courts cf. II. 14 (Sel. 20) nn.

recito : on the public, or semi-public, reading by an author of his own works cf. I. 13. 1 (Sel. 9) n. *recitaret*.

in proximo discreta uelo sedet : for Pliny's readings would be given in his own house (cf. VIII. 21. 2), and the curtain would cover the doorway to the room where Calpurnia sat.

4. uersus meos : on Pliny's writing of verses see V. 3. 2 (Sel. 36) n. *facio uersiculos*.

cantat formatque cithara, *sings, setting them to an accompaniment on the cithara* : in VII. 17. 3 (cf. also V. 17. 3). Pliny refers to lyric poetry as recited, and yet *non lectorem sed chorum et lyram poscunt* (cf. also VII. 4. 9,—Sel. 47,—also of his verses as sung to accompaniment on the *cithara* and the *lyra*).

amore, qui magister est optimus : but in I. 20. 12 (Sel. 13) he calls *usus* ('experience') *magister egregius*, and in VI. 29. 4 promotes it in honour to the first rank, but as a teacher of oratory, not of music,—*nec me praeterit usum et esse et haberi optimum dicendi magistrum*.

5. his ex causis : cf. I. 2. 6 (Sel. 2) n. *ex causis*.

aetatem meam : Pliny apparently thinks of himself still as in the very bloom of youth, though he must have been somewhere about forty years or more old. Calpurnia, on the

other hand, must have been very young, as in VIII. 10, 11 (doubtless several years later than this letter) he speaks of her still as a mere girl.

7. parentis loco uerereris: one may guess, then, from this phrase, in connection with what follows, that Hispulla was related in age to Pliny about as an elder sister might be.

8. in uicem, *the one for the other*; by a somewhat striking extension of the reciprocal sense of the phrase which is common to Pliny with the other writers of the silver and later ages. With this sort of dative use of *in uicem* cf. its accusative use in VII. 20. 7 (Sel. 51), and III. 7. 15 n. (Sel. 25).

35. (IV. 22.)

The boldness of Iunius Mauricus.—Sempronius Rufus, the person addressed, appears not to be mentioned elsewhere.

1. principis optimi: *sc.* Trajan, as is shown by the added reference to Nerva in § 4. The title of *optimus* in conjunction with *princeps* is commonly applied by Pliny to Trajan, and occurs also on the reverse of coins as early as 105 A.D. (*e.g.* S·P·Q·R· OPTIMO·PRINCIPI); but Trajan did not accept the designation as one of the formal imperial titles to be appended to his name until 114 A.D., from which time it appears regularly in inscriptions and on coins immediately following TRAIANVS and preceding AVGVSTVS. Chronological exceptions (*e.g. C.I.L.* VI. 961; VIII. 10117) are easily explicable. Yet Pliny himself teaches us that the cognomen *optimus* was decreed to Trajan as early as 100 A.D., the date of the *Panegyricus*; cf. *Pan.* 2 *illud additum a nobis optimi cognomen*; 88 *iustisne de causis senatus populusque Romanus optimi tibi cognomen adiecit?*

cognitioni: see X. 96. 1 (Sel. 104) n. *cognitionibus*. Ordinary provincial matters were settled in the province itself, the less important by the local courts or by the delegates of the governor, the more important by the governor himself, to whom an appeal lay from below. Appeals from the governor's decision might be carried to Rome, in the case of senatorial provinces (in which class was this province of Narbonensis) theoretically to the senate, in the case of imperial provinces directly to the emperor. But even from senatorial provinces appeals were often lodged directly with the emperor, whose *imperium maius* gave him authority to intervene practically wherever he chose in provincial affairs. The provincial governor, whether *proconsul* or *legatus Augusti*, might further of his own motion refer

cases of gravity to the emperor, as Pliny constantly did in his administration of Bithynia (see X. *passim*). The basis on which the present *cognitio* was held is not determinable.

consilium: cf. I. 9. 2 (Sel. 6) n. *in consilium*. But whereas the ordinary presiding magistrate was bound to decide in accordance with the advice of his *consilium*, and the consul (in a senatorial *cognitio*) in accordance with the vote of the senate, the emperor might follow the advice of his *consilium*, or disregard it, as he chose.

gymnicus agon: the Greek athletic exercises (running, wrestling, boxing, the *pentathlon*, and the *pankration*,—or some of them) were introduced first in Rome, with Greek performers, by M. Fulvius Nobilior in 186 B.C., but were not taken up by the Romans with the greatest enthusiasm, nor at all as a part of the actual training of their youth, in spite of the favour shown them by various emperors, especially Nero. The moralist and the simple old-fashioned Roman alike objected to them on the ground that they had no practical value, but simply enticed people to waste valuable time, that the nakedness of the athletes was shameful, and that all sorts of Greek corruption might follow in their train (cf. *e.g.* Sen. *Ep.* 15. 3; Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 20). Even Pliny himself regrets (*Pan.* 13) that Greek athletic exercises should take the place of the old military drill. Cf. on the whole subject Friedländer *Sittengᵉ* II. pp. 477 ff.

Viennenses: of Vienne, a former town of the Allobroges, situated on the Rhone in the senatorial province of Narbonensis.

ex cuiusdam testamento: such public legacies, providing for the annual celebration of these or other games on a set date, were not uncommon.

Trebonius Rufinus: otherwise unknown.

uir egregius: later the formal title of an *eques*,—at least of one who had entered upon the equestrian *cursus honorum*,—as *uir clarissimus* was of a senator (cf. IX. 13. 19,—Sel. 64); but doubtless used here, as apparently everywhere else in Pliny, as a merely complimentary phrase (cf. especially II. 11. 19,—Sel. 17,—where it is applied to a consul-designate).

in duumuiratu: the *duumuiri* or *duouiri iure dicundo* were the highest officials of the municipality or colony, corresponding to the consuls at Rome.

negabatur: probably to be taken in the personal construction; cf. III. 7. 1 (Sel. 25) n. *nuntiatus est*.

ex auctoritate publica: it is difficult to tell upon what

law his action was based. He probably acted in general under his censorial authority.

2. mature et grauiter, *in a well-considered and dignified way*; cf. Macr. v. 1. 16 *sunt praeterea stili dicendi duo . . . unus est maturus et grauis, qualis Crasso assignatur . . . alter huic contrarius ardens et erectus et infensus, quali usus est Antonius.*

3. sententiae: *sc.* of the members of the *consilium*. *Perrogatio sententiarum* was the technical phrase used of the consul requesting the senators in order to speak their minds upon the question at issue.

Iunius Mauricus: cf. I. 5. 10 (Sel. 4) n. *Mauricum*.

4. constanter et fortiter, [*spoken*] *with courage and boldness*: for Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian had done much to favour Greek athletics in Rome, and the worse classes of the Roman populace were devoted to that amusement. Moreover the remark of Mauricus might be viewed as an impertinent suggestion to the emperor about a matter of his own duty.

Veiento: A. Fabricius Veiento had been praetor in 55 A.D., when his chief distinction seems to have been that by running dogs instead of horses he defied a combination of the contractors for the *factiones* of the circus (see IX. 6. 2,—Sel. 61,—n. *panno*) to force up the prices for their teams (Dio. Cass. LXI. 6). In an unguarded moment of 62 A.D. he went too far and was banished for slandering high officials and trafficking in appointments to office (Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 50). After his recall he conducted himself with greater discretion, was advanced to the consulship by Domitian, and became one of his bosom-friends and favourite *delatores* (Aur. Vict. *Ep.* 12). Pliny mentions him as sitting and speaking in the senate when he assailed Publicius Certus (IX. 13,—Sel. 64).

proximus atque etiam in sinu: Nerva, as host, would doubtless occupy the *locus summus in lecto imo* (cf., on the ordering of places at a Roman dinner-table, Marquardt *Privatl.*[2] pp. 303 ff.). Veiento, then, occupied the *locus medius* on the same couch, and apparently lay close to his imperial host, as an especial intimate might do (cf. St. John's place at the Last Supper, *Euang. Ioh.* 13. 23 *erat ergo recumbens unus ex discipulis eius in sinu Iesu, quem diligebat Iesus*).

recumbebat: cf. II. 6. 3 (Sel. 16) n. *recumbebat*.

5. Catullo Messalino: L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus, one of the most notorious of the informers under Domitian, had been *consul ordinarius* in 73 A.D., and was living in 93

(cf. Tac. *Agr.* 45), but apparently died before Nerva's accession. He is linked with Veiento in Juvenal's satire, and is most bitterly characterized even in his blindness: 4. 113 ff. *cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo, | quinunquam uisae flagrabat amore puellae, | grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum*, etc.

6. sententiis: *i.e.* speeches in the senate, by which body the infamous purposes of Domitian were decreed (cf. Tac. *Agr.* 45 *nostrae duxere Heluidium in carcerem manus; nos Maurici Rusticique uisus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit*).

super cenam: cf. the same phrase in III. 5. 11 (Sel. 24), and IX. 33. 1 (Sel. 69).

passurum fuisse: on the omission of the 'subject of the infinitive' cf. IV. 13. 1 (Sel. 33) n. *uenisse*.

nobiscum cenaret: Nerva's reluctance (after the very first of his reign; see IX. 13. 4,—Sel. 64,—n. *postulauerit*) to allow the prosecution of informers of the preceding reign was unwelcome to the party so long 'in opposition' (Dio LXVIII. 1. 3) and is commonly ascribed by modern writers to a false idea of the value of 'peace at any price,' or to a general tendency toward inactivity. But it may well be that he had read to good effect the past history of his country, and with good reason (especially after the caustic remark of Catius Fronto, on which see II. 11. 3,—Sel. 17,—n. *Fronto Catius*) meant to prevent a second reign of terror. Trajan, after Nerva's death, was forced to yield to clamorous outcry, and sanction further prosecutions for the sake of vengeance (*Pan.* 34).

7. libens: *i.e.* of set purpose, and not accidentally.

LIBER V.

36. (V. 3.)

A defence of his verses and of his recitations of them.—Titius Aristo, to whom this letter and VIII. 14 are addressed, is extravagantly lauded by Pliny in I. 22 as endowed with all wisdom and virtues. Both there, and in VIII. 22, in which Pliny refers to him a knotty question of parliamentary law, he is spoken of as especially conversant with law, and he is frequently cited (especially by Pomponius) in Jus-

tinian's Digest. These citations show him to have been a pupil of C. Cassius (cos. 30 A.D.), and a counsellor of Trajan.

1. scripta ipsa non improbarent: *i.e.* they do not censure the verses on the ground that they are somewhat *risqués*. In IV. 14 Pliny defends himself against blame on this ground, as he does in this letter: cf. Introd. pp. xxxiii ff.

amice simpliciterque, *with the frankness of friendship.*

me reprehenderent quod, etc.: *i.e.* they are not too exacting in their moral notions about verse in general, but yet, when it comes to the personal question, they do not like to have Pliny write and read publicly such erotic verse.

2. ut augeam meam culpam: *sc.* by defence instead of penitence.

facio uersiculos: on the fact see also IV. 14; VII. 4 (Sel. 47); IV. 19. 4 (Sel. 34); V. 10. 1; V. 15. 1; IX. 10. 2 (Sel. 62); IX. 34. 1. Samples of his verses (which do not accord with his report of their reputation for excellence) are preserved in VII. 4. 6 (Sel. 47) and VII. 9. 11 (Sel. 49). See also Introd. pp. xxxii. ff.

seueros parum, *not particularly strict*: *sc.* such verses on amatory themes as he calls in IV. 14. 4 *paulo petulantiora*, and defends himself for writing by saying, *erit eruditionis tuae cogitare summos illos et grauissimos uiros qui talia scripserunt non modo lasciuia rerum sed ne uerbis quidem nudis abstinuisse; quae nos refugimus, non quia seueriores (unde enim?) sed quia timidiores sumus*, and by quoting Catullus 16. 5-8.

mimos: comedy farces, akin in general character to the *Atellanae*, but dealing rather with *contretemps* of town-life, and especially with erotic situations. Their loose character and bad influence were proverbial, but they formed the favourite and lasting stage-diversion of the Romans of the empire, and drove legitimate tragedy and comedy from the boards. Much of the objection of the early Christian writers to the theatre is based upon the character of these plays: cf. Friedländer *Sittenq.*[6] II. pp. 436 ff. Cf. also on *pantomimi* VII. 24 4 n. (Sel. 52).

lyricos: the word seems almost to have been appropriated to mean especially erotic verse, as had *hendecasyllabi*: cf. Quint. I. 8. 6 *elegia uero, utique qua amat, et hendecasyllabi, qui sunt commata Sotadeorum (nam de Sotadeis ne praecipiendum quidem est), amouentur, si fieri potest.*

Sotadicos: *sc. uersus.* Sotades was a Greek poet of the third century, whose verses, excessively obscene in matter

and suggestively so even in form, furnished a detestable model for later ages.

intellego, *appreciate.*

aliquando, *occasionally*: as in VII. 4. 3 (Sel. 47).

homo sum: cf. the similar proverbial expression in Petron. 75 *homines sumus non dei*, where, however, as in Petron. 130 *nam et homo sum*, and in the frequent *hominis est errare* (Cic. *Phil.* 12. 2. 5), the point is somewhat different.

3. nec uero, etc., *but I cannot feel badly that their opinion of my character is so high that they wonder at my writing such verses, when they are not aware that the most learned and sedate and upright of men have written them.* On **sanctissimos** cf. III. 1. 7 n. *lyrica doctissima; mira illis . . . hilaritas, cuius gratiam cumulat sanctitas scribentis.*

4. errare me, sed cum illis: perhaps with a reminiscence of Cic. *Tusc.* I. 39 *errare mehercule malo cum Platone . . . quam cum istis uera sentire.*

exprimere, *to reproduce*: a favourite word with Pliny, especially in the sense of 'to express,' with or without *uerbis.*

5. an ego uerear: cf. I. 10. 9 (Sel. 7) n. *an*; I. 16. 8 (Sel. 11) n. *an*; and on the subjunctive present without *an* in similar use, III. 16. 9 (Sel. 28) n. *ego audiam.*

Marcum Tullium, etc.: Pliny is careful to cite only men who were senators and orators as well as poets (*e.g.* he mentions Caluus, but not Catullus, who is his traditional mate). It has been suggested (Teuffel-Schwabe 31. 1) that Pliny culled his list of names from an erotic anthology of his day. Ovid defends himself in similar case by citing a long list of Greek and Roman writers of erotic verses (*Trist.* II. 361 ff.). An *epigramma* of Cicero (whether genuine or not may be a grave question) is cited by Pliny in VII. 4 (Sel. 47), another is quoted by Quintilian (VIII. 6. 73), and other writers refer to a collection of miscellaneous verses from his pen, in addition to his better known poems.

C. [Licinium Macrum) Caluum: cf. I. 16. 5 (Sel. 11) n. *Catullus aut Caluus.* Only a score of brief fragments of his verses are preserved; see Baehrens *Frag. Poet. Lat.* p. 320.

Asinium Pollionem: C. Asinius Pollio (76 B.C.—5 A.D.) is not elsewhere mentioned as a writer of amatory verse, and only three words of this sort from his pen have survived (*Veneris antistita Cupris*, in Charisius). He was well-known as a writer of tragedies, but these have utterly perished.

M. Messallam; M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (64 B.C.—

8 A.D.) is praised for his Greek bucolics by the writer of Verg. *Catal.* 11, but nothing more is known of his poetry.

Q. Hortensium: Q. Hortensius Hortalus (114-50 B.C.), Cicero's great rival in oratory, is mentioned as a writer of amatory verse by Catullus (95. 3), Varro (*L.L.* VIII. 14; X. 78), Gellius (XIX. 9. 7), and Ovid (Trist. II. 441 *nec minus Hortensi, nec sunt minus improba Serui | carmina*). Just one word of his poems is preserved (*ceruix*, for the earlier plural *ceruices*), if we except a mere title (*Zmyrna*), but they were criticized as *inuenusta* (Gell. *l.c.*).

M. Brutum: verses by M. Iunius Brutus (79-42 B.C.), the murderer of Caesar, are mentioned elsewhere only by Tacitus, and that in no complimentary manner; *Dial.* 21 [*Iulius Caesar et M. Brutus*] *fecerunt enim et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt.*

L. Sullam: a single epigram, in Greek, of Cornelius Sulla, the dictator (138-78 B.C.), is preserved in Appian *B.C.* I. 97, and he is said (in Athenaeus VI. p. 261 c), perhaps mistakenly, to have composed 'satiric comedies' in Latin. Nothing more is known of his versification.

Q. Catulum: two composedly amatory epigrams of Lutatius Catulus (152-87 B.C.) are preserved to us, one in Gell. XIX. 9. 14, and the other in Cic. *N.D.* I. 79.

Q. Scaeuolam: as Pliny is citing only senators and statesmen, this Q. Mucius Scaeuola can hardly be (as Haupt, Teuffel, and others have surmised) the son of the famous *augur*, but is probably the *augur* himself (*circ.* 159-87 B.C.). He was a man of genial temperament (Cic. *De Or.* I. 35, 234), and even given to jollity (Cic. *Att.* IV. 16. 3).

Ser. Sulpicium: for the reason before specified this Sulpicius may be identified with the Sulpicius Rufus who was Cicero's friend (cos. 51 B.C., died 43 A.D.), rather than with the later person of that name, perhaps his son: cf. Ou. *Trist.* cited above on *Hortensium*.

Varronem: doubtless M. Terentius Varro Reatinus (116—after 38 B.C.), whose activity in verse as in prose is well known, though little of his verse has been preserved except the fragments of his Menippean satires.

Torquatos: probably the L. Manlius Torquatus who was cos. in 65 B.C., and his son, who was praetor in 49 and died in Africa in 47. Nothing is known of them as poets.

C. Memmium: praetor in 58 B.C., dying in exile in Greece in 49. Cicero (*Brut.* 247) speaks of him as an agreeable but

lazy speaker, and as particularly accomplished in Greek letters, and Ovid (*Trist.* II. 433) cites him in his defensive list of erotic poets.

Lentulum: Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus (cos. 26 A.D., put to death by Caligula 39 A.D.) is mentioned as a poet by Martial, Sidonius, and Probus, though the three hexameters of his preserved in Probus (on *Georg.* I. 227) appear to be from a historical epic.

Annaeum Senecam: L., the philosopher, son of the rhetorician, (c. 4—65 A.D.). A few epigrams from his pen are preserved in the *Anthologia Latina*, and others are with probability ascribed to him.

Verginium Rufum: cf. II. 1 (Sel. 15). He is not cited elsewhere as a writer of erotic verse, and the only verse of his preserved is the epigram in VI. 10. 4 (Sel. 44) and IX. 19. 1 (Sel. 65).

priuata: cf. I 23. 3 (Sel. 14) n. *priuatum*.

diuum Iulium: Caesar is known as a verse-writer also through Tac. *Dial.* 21 (cited above on *M. Brutum*) and Suet. *Iul.* 56, which latter writer remarks that Augustus forbade the publication of his earlier poems. A fragment of six hexameters on Terence is preserved in the Suetonian life of that author (Reiff. Suet. *Rell.* p. 34. 7).—On **diuum** see IV. 11. 14 (Sel. 32) n. *diui*.

diuum Augustum: Suetonius tells us (*Aug.* 85) that Augustus wrote *epigrammata*, as well as other poetry, and one of these epigrams is unfortunately preserved to us by Martial. He also composed some *uersus Fescennini* against a certain Pollio.

diuum Neruam: Nero called Nerva the Tibullus of his time (Mart. VIII. 70. 7), but there is no other mention of his poetry.

Tiberium Caesarem: Suetonius (*Tib.* 70) mentions that Tiberius composed a Latin elegy on the death of L. Caesar, and Greek poems in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius. Suidas says he wrote epigrams. But none of his poems are extant.

6. Neronem: Nero's zeal as a poet is well known (Suet. *Ner.* 52; Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 3; XIV. 16), and Martial (IX. 26. 9) mentions poems such as Pliny has in mind.

P. Vergilius: one might justly suppose Pliny to have in mind the yet extant 'minor poems' ascribed to Vergil with varying degrees of probability by later writers; but it is worthy of note that Ovid can cite as erotic writings of Vergil

only some of the Bucolics, and part of *Aen.* IV. (Ou. *Trist.* II. 533 ff.).

Cornelius Nepos: this is apparently the only reference to him as a writer of verse.

Ennius: the reference may be to some passages of his (lost) comedies, or to his tragedies. The extant fragments of his *saturae* show no indication that Pliny might have these in mind.

Accius: perhaps in passages of his tragedies,—though some of his non-dramatic works may be meant.

non quidem, etc.: a delicious example of Pliny's innocent snobbishness; cf. Introd. p. xxxvi, *s. fin.*

ordinibus: knights and senators, as distinct from the common herd.

7. an ... nescio: apparently undecided, as the later *poterant* ('they might well') shows: cf. I. 15. 3 (Sel. 10) n. *nescio an.*

etiam: cf. IV. 13. 3 (Sel. 33) n. *etiam.*

mihi modestior constantia est: the phrase illustrates the increasing tendency to the use of abstract nouns in the place of simple adjectives modifying the personal subject.

8. ex consilii sententia statuit: cf. I. 9. 2 (Sel. 6) n. *in consilium.* On the reasons for reciting cf. also V. 12. 1.

9. murmure: *sc.* of applause, not of disapprobation: cf. IX. 34. 2 *quae pronuntiabit murmure, oculis, manu prosequar.*

iudicium ab humanitate discernunt, *discriminate judgment from friendliness*: which latter quality might lead them to try to conceal their real sentiments.

10. quamuis: this particle begins to be used with the subjunctive even in classical times to express, as here, a subjective possibility. But it is only in the silver age that it is freely used with the subjunctive of an actual fact, as in *e.g.* III. 1. 6 (Sel. 23); V. 5. 3 (Sel. 37).

37. (V. 5.)

The death of C. Fannius.—To Nouius Maximus is addressed also IV. 20 (on some of his writings), but he is otherwise unknown. To an indeterminate 'Maximus' are addressed various other letters; see intr. note to II. 14 (Sel. 20).

1. nuntiatum est: cf. the personal construction *nuntiatus est* in III. 7. 1 (Sel. 25) and n.

C. Fannium: otherwise unknown. He does not appear to have been closely related to P. Fannius Thrasea Paetus, on whom see III. 16. 10 (Sel. 28).

confudit: cf. the same figure in I. 22. 12 *erit confusioni meae non mediocre solacium.*

ueritate promptissimus: so in V. 12. 1 Pliny says that he read a certain speech to a few friends *ut uerum audirem.*

2. super: not uncommon in silver-age Latinity in the sense of *praeter*; cf. VIII. 4. 2, 7 (Sel. 56); X. 100 *s. magnas plurimasque uirtutes*; *Pan.* 75 *s. ea*; and phrases after the model of *alia super alia* in VII. 8. 1; X. 88 (Sel. 102); *Pan.* 14. Here, however, it may retain somewhat of the force of preeminence, 'over and above these considerations.'

prosecutus est, *honoured* (sc. *legato*); cf. VIII. 18. 2 *prosecutus est nepotes plurimis iucundissimisque legatis*; III. 21. 2 (Sel. 29) n. *prosecutus eram uiatico*; and even such further extensions of meaning as III. 10. 3 *libello memoriam prosequi*: X. 85 *procuratorem testimonio prosequor*; 86. 1 *praefectum uoto et suffragio prosequor.*

utcumque: cf. I. 12. 2 (Sel. 8) n. *utcumque.*

3. quamuis: cf. V. 3. 10 (Sel. 36) n. *quamuis.*

Latinos: *i.e.* perfect in purity of language and construction; cf. Cic. *De Or.* I. 144 *in* [*oratione*] *praecipitur primum ut pure et Latine loquamur, deinde ut plane et dilucide, tum ut ornate, post ad rerum dignitatem apte et quasi decore.*

inter sermonem historiamque medios: the conversational style is frequently distinguished from that of poetry, for example (see Hor. *Sat.* I. 4. 39 ff.); and Pliny distinguishes the grandiloquent stateliness of history from oratory in V. 8. 9, 10.

hi lectitabantur: like other works, including Pliny's own letters, the memoirs of Fannius were published in detachments.

4. acerba: originally descriptive of the sourness or acridity of unripe fruit, and therefore a strict synonym for *immatura.* The word was traditionally used by the Romans of an early death: cf. IV. 21. 1 *tristem et acerbum casum* (of the death of two young mothers); V. 16. 6 (Sel. 39) *o triste plane acerbumque funus.*

in diem uiuunt: a proverbial expression; cf. Cic. *De Or.* II. 169 *barbarorum est in diem uiuere, nostra consilia sempiternum tempus spectare debent.*

uiuendi causas cotidie finiunt: cf. Iuu. 8. 84 *propter*

uitam uiuendi perdere causas; and I. 12. 3 (Sel. 8) n. *uiuendi causas*.

memoriam sui operibus extendunt: cf. III. 7. 14 (Sel. 25) n. *relinquamus aliquid [ex studiis] quo nos uixisse testemur*.

5. uisus est sibi iacere: cf. the same phrase of a dream in VII. 27. 12 (Sel. 54) *uisus est sibi cernere*.

scrinium: otherwise called *capsa*, a cylindrical box, like a bandbox, in which a number of MS. rolls (*uolumina*) could be kept, standing on end.

reuoluisse: of the MS. roll of papyrus, which was unrolled by the right hand, and rolled up with the left, as the reading proceeded.

6. sic interpretatus: on the belief in dreams see I. 18. 1 (Sel. 12) n. *somnio*.

7. quod me recordantem miseratio subit: cf. the same words in III. 7. 10 (Sel. 25).

inter manus: cf. the same phrase in II. 5. 2; Verg. Aen. XI. 311 *ante oculos interque manus sunt omnia uestras*. The more frequent expression is *in manibus* (*habere, esse*); cf. I. 2. 6 (Sel. 2) n. *in manibus*.

38. (V. 14.)

The virtues of Cornutus Tertullus.—To Pontius are addressed two other letters, VI. 28 and VII. 4 (Sel. 47), but nothing further is known of him. His *gentilicium* only is given in the last two letters (the MSS. of Books VI.-IX. have preserved only single names of the persons addressed), and in this letter the cognomen occurs only in the index of the Beauvais *codex*. Allifae (whence Allifanus) was a well-known town of Samnium near the Volturnus, reckoned as Campanian by the elder Pliny (*N.H.* III. 63).

1. secesseram: sc. *ex urbe*, as frequently.

municipium: *sc.* doubtless *meum*.—that is, Comum,—where his wife's grandfather and aunt (see § 8) lived.

nuntiatum est: cf. III. 7. 1 (Sel. 25) n. *nuntiatus est*.

Cornutum Tertullum: see II. 11. 19 (Sel. 17) n. *Cornutus Tertullus*.

Aemiliae uiae curam: his title was CVRATOR · VIAE · AEMILIAE. The importance of the greater roads that radiated from Rome led the early emperors to entrust the special charge of each to an ex-consul, who was responsible for its

proper maintenance, and sometimes for the *cura alimentorum* of the region through which it passed. **The *via Aemilia*** was the continuation of the ***via Flaminia*** from Ariminum (Rimini) straight to Mediolanium (Milan) through Bononia (Bologna), Mutina (Modena), Parma, and Placentia (Piacenza).

2. mandatum mihi officium: from about 105 to about 107 A.D. Pliny was CVRATOR · ALVEI · TIBERIS · ET · RIPARVM · ET · CLOACARVM · VRBIS (see the inscription in Introd. p. xl.), another of the high local administrative functions entrusted to an ex-consul. The constant need of dredging, and the danger from overflows in the winter freshets, made the office no sinecure.

3. quid sanctius, etc.: so he speaks of Spurinna's *antiquitas* and *sanctitas* in III. 1. 6. 7 (Sel. 23): so he calls Erucius Clarus (II. 9. 4) *uir sanctus, antiquus*; and Verginius (II. 1. 7,—Sel. 15) *exemplar aeui prioris.*

ad exemplar antiquitatis: cf. VI. 21. 2 *comoediam ad exemplar ueteris comoediae scriptam tam bene ut esse quandoque possit exemplar.*

4. una diligimus, una dileximus omnes: cited by the older commentators as an (accidental) dactylic hexameter, which it might be if the final syllable of *diligimus* were regarded as 'lengthened in thesis.' A number of such accidental hexameters have been noted in prose writing. The ancient rhetoricians properly considered them blemishes: cf. Quint. IX. 4. 72 *uersum in oratione fieri multo foedissimum est totum, sed etiam in parte deforme.*

5. in ... fuit, fuit et in ...: on the chiastic repetition of the verb see I. 12. 12 (Sel. 8) n. *morte doleo.*—On the prefecture of the treasury of Saturn see IX. 13. 11 (Sel. 64) n. *praefectum aerarii*, and Introd. p. xxv.

sequerer: Pliny was the junior in office as in age of the two colleagues.

ut parentem: on the difference in age between the two men see II. 11. 19 (Sel. 17) n. *Cornutus Tertullus.*

uererer: so Pliny says of Minicius Acilianus (I. 14. 3), *me ut iuuenis iuuenem* (*est enim minor paucis annis*) *familiarissime diligit, uereretur ut senem.*

6. his ex causis: see I. 2. 6 (Sel. 2) n. *ex causis.*

nec priuatim magis quam publice: cf. II. 1. 7 (Sel. 15) n. *non solum publice.*

8. eram, etc.: an unusually long example of asyndetic clauses, reproducing evidently the manner of a speech.

prosocero meo: Calpurnius Fabatus, grandfather of Calpurnia, Pliny's wife; see IV. 19. 1 (Sel. 34) n. *auo*.

amita: Calpurnia Hispulla; see introd. note to IV. 19 (Sel. 34).

circumibam agellos, etc.: landed estates among the Romans were viewed not merely as pleasant country residences, but as farms to produce income. Each was regularly put under the charge of a manager (*uilicus*), usually a slave, and was worked by slave labour. Over the *uilicus* a *procurator* might serve, in charge of the accounts, or the *uilicus* might keep the accounts himself, the owner inspecting them whenever he visited the estate. Some of the land might be rented to free tenants (*coloni*), who either paid a fixed amount annually, or a certain share of the produce, the *uilicus* in the latter case being empowered to compel them to work their holdings properly. Complaints from tenants were frequent, either on account of overbearing supervision, or of poverty from 'bad years'; cf. IX. 36. 6 (Sel. 70); X. 8. 5 (Sel. 77).

inuitus, etc.: everything shows Pliny to have been an excellent man of business in all directions, quite after the old Roman ideal. He is here but affecting carelessness, if not reluctance.

9. angustiis commeatus, *by the brevity of my leave of absence*: *sc.* from the duties of his curatorship (see § 2 above). Such leaves of absence apparently had to be obtained from the emperor; cf. X. 8. 4 (Sel. 77).

Campania tua: see introd. note to this letter.

39. (V. 16.)

The death of Minicia Marcella.—To Marcellinus was written also VIII. 23 (on the death of Iunius Auitus), but he is otherwise unknown. The local cognomen Aefulanus is found only in the index of the Beauvais *codex*. Aefulae was an old town on the edge of the Sabine mountains, a few miles south of Tibur. A. M. Aefulanus was proconsul of Asia in Nero's time, and may have been a connection of Marcellinus.

1. Fundani: on C. Minicius Fundanus see introd. note to I. 9 (Sel. 6).

festiuius, *more charming*.

2. nondum annos tredecim impleuerat: the tomb of the family was discovered on Monte Mario, about three miles

north of Rome, about 1880, and within it a cinerary urn of marble in the form of a *cippus* with the inscription D · M | MINICIAE MARCELLAE . FVNDANI · F | V · A · XII · M · XI · D · VII, i.e., *dis manibus Miniciae Marcellae, Fundani filiae. Vixit annis xii., mensibus xi., diebus vii.* (see H. Dressel in *Bull. Inst. Corr. Arch.* 1881, p. 15; *C.I.L.* VI. 16631; Dessau 1030). The *cippus* is now in the *Museo delle Terme* at Rome.

3. paedagogos: the trusty slaves whose especial duty it was to accompany children to and from school; the actual teachers were **praeceptores**.

4. sororem patrem: the absence of reference to the mother indicates that she was no longer living, and in the family tomb was discovered a monument to STATORIA · M · F · MARCELLA, which may have been hers (cf. Dressel, as cited on § 2).

vigore animi sustinebat: cf. I. 12. 5 (Sel. 8) [*morbum*] *ingravescentem viribus animi sustinebat*.

6. plane acerbum: cf. V. 5. 4 (Sel. 37) n. *acerba*.

indignius, *more cruel*: cf. I. 12. 6 (Sel. 8) *indignissima tormenta*.

destinata, *betrothed*: according to Roman custom betrothal might take place while the maiden was still a young child, but she was considered marriageable from the completion of the twelfth year, while the actual age of her marriage was usually from the completion of the fourteenth year. Yet girls were sometimes married even when under twelve years of age. On the statistics of the subject see Friedländer *Sitteng.*[6] I. pp. 563 ff.

7. tus et unguenta et odores: incense of various sorts was burned around the body as it lay in state, and also on the funeral pyre, and perfumed oils and essences were used about the body, and even disposed in open flasks in the tomb. Extravagant sums were often thus expended, and the XII. tables prescribed limitations (Tab. X. ap. Bruns *Fontes*,[6] p. 36). See Friedländer *Sitteng.*[6] III. p. 127 f.

8. pietatis totus, *wholly absorbed in his* [*paternal*] *devotion*: on the genitive with this adjective cf. Ter. *Eun.* 1040 *fratris igitur Thais totast*; Cic. *Fam.* II. 13. 2 *me Pompeii totum esse scis*; Val. Flac. I. 207 *totus dei Mopsus*; Liv. III. 36. 7 *hominum, non causarum, toti erant*; and later writers *passim*.

9. quid amiserit. amisit enim: with the epanaleptic opening of the sentence cf. I. 1. 1 (Sel. 1) n. *colligerem publicarem*.

que. collegi; with the mournful repetition of the verb cf. I. 12. 12 (Sel. 8) *amisi enim amisi.*

10. multum faciet medii temporis spatium: cf. VIII. 5. 3 *dum admittere aduocamenta et cicatricem pati possit, quam nihil aeque ac necessitas ipsa et dies longa et satietas doloris inducit*; Menander fr. 677 Kock *πάντων ἰατρὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων κακῶν χρόνος ἐστίν*; Cic. *Fam.* V. 16. 5 *diuturnitas, quae maximos luctus uetustate tollit*; so also Cic. *Fam.* VII. 28. 3; IV. 5. 6; *Att.* III. 15. 2; XII. 10; *Tusc.* III. 53; Ou. *Pont.* I. 3. 15; *Rem. Am.* 131; Sen. *Agam.* 150; *Marc. Cons.* 8. 1; *Ep.* 63. 13; Auson. XV. 11. 11 Sch.; Ter. *Heaut.* 421 f. *quod uolgo audio | dici, diem adimere aegritudinem hominibus*; Byron *Childe Harold* IV. 130 *O Time! the beautifier of the dead, | adorner of the ruin, comforter | and only healer when the heart hath bled.*

11. ut enim crudum, etc.: cf. Sen. *Helu. Cons.* 3. 1 *quem ad modum tirones leuiter saucii tamen uociferantur et manus medicorum magis quam ferrum horrent, at ueterani quamuis confossi patienter ac sine gemitu uelut aliena corpora exsaniari patiuntur, ita tu nunc debes fortiter praebere te curationi.*

40. (V. 19.)

The illness of Pliny's freedman, Zosimus.—On the subject-matter may be compared VIII. 1 (on the illness of another favourite) and VIII. 16 (Sel. 58). To Valerius Paulinus is addressed also IV. 16 (on the crowd that listened to a plea of Pliny's before the *centumuiri*). To a Paulinus are inscribed three other letters, II. 2, IX. 3, and IX. 37, who may or may not be this Valerius Paulinus. 'Paulinus' was just about to enter upon the consulship in IX. 37, and was dead before the writing of X. 104, 105. Valerius Paulinus was a senator at the time of the trial of Iulius Bassus (IV. 9. 20, 21). He is not otherwise known.

1. tuos, meos: cf. II. 17. 7 (Sel. 21) n. *meorum.*

2. πατήρ, etc.: said first by Telemachus and then by Mentor of Odysseus in his rule over the Ithacans (Hom. *Od.* II. 47, 234).

pater familiae (or, with the archaic form of the genitive, *pater familias*): the formal and legal designation of the head of the Roman household. The *familia* included slaves and freedmen as well as wife, children, grandchildren, etc.

frangeret me infirmitas liberti mei: cf. VIII. 16. 1 (Sel. 58) *confecerunt me infirmitates meorum*; 3 *debilitor et frangor . . . non ideo tamen uelim durior fieri.*

6. litteratus: by no means an unusual quality, especially in Greek slaves. One may remember Cicero's freedman and friend, Tiro, and the specially trained slaves of Atticus (Nep. *Att.* 13. 3). Cf. also IX. 36. 4 (Sel. 70) *cum meis ambulo, quorum in numero sunt eruditi.*

inscriptio, *label*: a tag (*titulus*) was suspended from the neck of each slave exposed for sale in the market, on which was stated, with other information, his especial aptitude and training: cf. Suet. *Rell.* p. 103 Reiff. *apud maiores ait* [*Orbilius*], *cum familia alicuius uenalis produceretur, non temere quem litteratum in titulo sed litteratorem inscribi solitum esse, quasi non perfectum litteris sed imbutum*; Prop. v. 5. 51 *aut quorum titulus per barbara colla pependit.* But the peculiar word with *quasi* suggests a playful reference to the branding (*inscribere*), especially of a runaway slave, on forehead or hand. See Marquardt *Privatleben*[2] pp. 172, nn. 4, 5; 184, n. 4.

comoedus: see I. 15. 2 (Sel. 10) n. *comoedum.*

pronuntiat, *speaks*: cf. § 6 below.

cithara: see IV. 19. 4 (Sel. 34) n. *cantat formatque cithara*; I. 15. 2 (Sel. 10) n. *lyristen.*

orationes et historias et carmina legit: see I. 15. 2 (Sel. 10) n. *lectorem*; VIII. 1. 2.

8. non semel, *not the first time*: cf. II. 11. 11 (Sel. 17) n. *non semel*; VI. 16. 18 (Sel. 45) n. *semel atque iterum.*

6. dum intente instanterque pronuntiat, *while reading with vigour and emphasis.*

sanguinem reiecit, 'spat blood.'

ob hoc in Aegyptum missus: the long sea-journey to Egypt, and a stay there, seems to have been a common prescription for phthisical patients; cf. Cels. III. 22 *si . . . uera phthisis est, . . . opus est, si uires patiuntur, longa nauigatione, caeli mutatione, sic ut densius quam id est ex quo discedit aeger petatur: ideoque aptissime Alexandriam ex Italia itur*; IV. 10 *utilis etiam in omni tussi est peregrinatio, nauigatio longa, loca maritima, natationes*; Pl. *N.H.* XXVIII. 54 *utilissima phthisi nauigatio*; XXXI. 62 f. *principalis* [*usus*] *uero nauigandi phthisi adfectis, ut diximus, aut sanguine egesto; . . . neque enim Aegyptus propter se petitur, sed propter longinquitatem nauigandi.*

7. Foro Iuli: the modern Fréjus, situated on the coast of southern France, about halfway between Nice and Toulon. Its name came from a colony planted there by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. It attained some importance as a naval station in the early empire, but is now a small village.

aera salubrem: the same coast, extending eastward through the Riviera, has retained its reputation as a health-resort for consumptives.

lac eius modi curationibus accommodatissimum: so Celsus declared; see Cels. III. 22 *lac quoque . . . in phthisi . . . recte dari potest* (cf. Hipp. *Aph.* v. 64); Plin. *N.H.* XXVIII. 125 *usus lactis ad fauces, pulmones. ut in Arcadia bubulum [lac] biberent phthisici diximus.* It is interesting to notice that the milk-cure has not yet passed entirely out of vogue.

8. tuis: see § 1 n. *tuos.*

uilla, *the estate*; **domus**, *the house.*

erit; **erit autem**: on the epanalepsis see IV. 13. 1 (Sel. 33) n. *uenisse.*

LIBER VI.

41. (VI. 2.)

The death of Regulus.—On (Maturus) Arrianus, to whom this letter is addressed, see introd. note to I. 2 (Sel. 2).

1. quaerere, *to feel the loss of*; **desiderare**, *to deplore it.*

M. Regulum: see I. 5. 1 (Sel. 4) n. *M. Regulo.*

2. habebat studiis honorem, *he held his profession in reverence.*

pallebat: with the paleness of anxiety about the success of his pleas, not the 'pale cast of thought': cf. I. 5. 13 (Sel. 4) *quamuis palleat semper.*

scribebat: in contradistinction from the careless lawyers of the day, who trusted to extemporaneous inspiration.

quamuis: with the subjunctive of an actual fact; cf. V. 3. 10 (Sel. 36) n. *quamuis.*

non posset ediscere: and so his speeches lacked the finish that Pliny affected: cf. his criticism of the speaking of Regulus in IV. 7. 4 (Sel. 31).

circumlinebat, *used to paint a line around*: the reason is unknown; perhaps it was simply like the make-up of an actor, to set off the eye, on the expression of which so much depended (Quint. XI. 3. 72, 75 *dominatur maxime uultus . . . in ipso uultu plurimum ualent oculi*).

a petitore, *for the plaintiff*; **a possessore**, *for the defendant*. The counsel for the plaintiff stood on the right side, for the defendant on the left side of the tribunal. Regulus 'made up' that side of his face only that was to be toward the jury.

splenium, *patch*: of various shapes, worn by the fops of the day, as by the beaux and belles of centuries more immediately preceding ours, to set off the beauty of the complexion. But the patch worn by Regulus was white, as a colour of good omen.

haruspices consulebat: Regulus was more like the women of the day than the men in paying so great attention to charms and omens: cf. also II. 20. 4, 13 (Sel. 22).

a nimia superstitione: in the case of the 'make up' and the patch the superstition seems to have consisted in the belief that the one-sided finish was essential to success.

8. una dicentibus: *sc.* his adversaries in the case: cf. II. 14. 2 (Sel. 20) *perpauci cum quibus iuuat dicere*.

libera tempora, *unlimited time*: on the limitation of the time of pleas see II. 11. 14 (Sel. 17) n. *clepsydris*.

audituros corrogabat: as if he were going to give a private recitation; cf. however Pliny's complaint about the fashion of hiring an audience in II. 14. 4 (Sel. 20).

quam diu uelis: on Pliny's liking for long pleas see I. 20 (Sel. 13).

quasi deprehensum, *as if taken by surprise*: *sc.* by the size of the audience, and therefore subject to all allowances for embarrassment and timidity.

commode dicere, *to speak well*: and win greater praise because of the professed embarrassment.

4. utcumque: see I. 12. 2 (Sel. 8) n. *utcumque*.

bene fecit, etc.: cf. Shakspere *Macb.* I. 4, *nothing in his life became him like the leaving it*; and from the epitaph attributed to the Comte de Maurepas on Fleury, *n'ayant vécu que pour lui-même, | mourut pour le bien de l'État*.

sine malo publico: with reference to his reputation under Nero and Domitian: cf. I. 5. 1 (Sel. 4).

eo principe: *sc.* Trajan.

5. postquam obiit ille: Regulus cannot have been long dead, but the date of his death is unknown, except in so far as it can be determined from the date of the letters in general of this book, on which see Introd. pp. xxxvii. ff.

clepsydras: the usual period of a *clepsydra* in the courts was about fifteen minutes: see II. 11. 14 (Sel. 17) n. *clepsydris*.

et dandi et petendi: it was not merely the court that wished to abbreviate the pleas, but even the pleaders themselves.

tanta irreuerentia, etc.: cf. II. 14. 3 (Sel. 20) *tanta ueneratione pulcherrimum opus colebatur*.

6. comperendinationes, *adjournments*: probably with reference not to the term as used in actions at the civil law, but to the earlier provisions regarding criminal prosecutions, which required that the case be considered at three several sessions of the court besides the one at which the defendant was formally arraigned, and that between such successive sessions at least one free day should intervene. In case of appeal a fifth day was added. (For details see Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encycl.* IV. c. 788).

7. ambitione, *self-seeking*.

omnibus, paucissimi: *sc.* of the jurors. To an advocate who desires time that he may do justice to his case (**fidei**) they decline to grant it; to Regulus they used to grant it regularly, though his motives in asking it were purely selfish.

iudico, *serve on a jury*: cf. I. 20. 12 (Sel. 13) n. *iudicaui*.

8. etiam, *granted*: cf. IV. 13. 3 (Sel. 33) n. *etiam*.

satius est, etc.: with the sentiment cf. I. 20. 2 (Sel. 13) *praeuaricatio est transire dicenda*, etc.

9. an: cf. I. 18. 5 (Sel. 12) n. *an*.

communium, *the common weal*: but the word in this sense is perhaps unique.

emendari, corrigere: the words do not differ in emphasis, as many critics have thought, but are traditionally coupled; cf. Cic. *Leg.* III. 30 [*tota ciuitas*] *emendari et corrigi* [*solet*]: Quint. II. 2. 7 *in emendando quae corrigenda erunt, non acerbus* [*praeceptor*].

10. leuiora incommoda quod adsueui: cf. Hor. *Carm.* I. 24. 19 *leuius fit patientia | quicquid corrigere est nefas*; Ou. *Am.* I. 2. 10 *leue fit quod bene fertur onus*; and the citations in v. 16. 10 (Sel. 39) n.

42. (VI. 4.)

To his wife, absent for her health.—On Calpurnia see IV. 19 (Sel. 34), and intr. note thereto. To her are addressed two other letters, VI. 7 (Sel. 43), and VII. 5 (Sel. 48).

1. **prosequi**, *to escort*: originally of the complimentary attendance upon a friend or prominent person only as far as the city gates, or a short stage in his journey; but here of accompaniment all the way; cf. III. 21. 2 (Sel. 29) n.

e uestigio (sc. *temporis*), *immediately*.

2. **cupiebam**: epistolary imperfect, as not very commonly in Pliny.

secessus uoluptates, *the pleasures of that retreat*: the Campanian coast, with its gentle climate and wonderful beauty, was a great society resort of the Romans, and perhaps hardly afforded the quiet needed by an invalid. Of the same shore, cf. Iuu. 3. 4 f. *gratum litus amoeni | secessus*.

regionis abundantiam: Campania was especially fertile, and the great fruit-garden of Italy.

inoffensa transmitteres, *you are enduring without harm*: for the only disadvantages of Campania as a health resort were those connected with diet and with the distractions of fashionable society. Other things were sure to be favourable. With the idiom cf. I. 22. 7 *ut incredibilem febrium ardorem immotus transmittat*.

5. **cotidie binis epistulis**: it seems unlikely that 'two mails a day' could have been arranged between Campania and Rome, whether by Pliny's private messengers, or by those of his friends or business acquaintances passing that way, or of the state. But at any rate a diary, even though irregular in delivery, was both longer and more satisfactory than an occasional letter.

43. (VI. 7.)

To the same, during the same absence.

1. **libellos meos**: cf. IV. 19. 2 (Sel. 34) *libellos meos habet, lectitat, ediscit etiam*.

teneas, *embrace*.

in uestigio meo, *in my place*: sc. on the couch beside her.

2. **his fomentis adquiescis**: with the phrase cf. IV. 21. 4 *magno fomento dolor meus adquiesceat*.

in uicem, *in my turn* (as in VI. 20. 4,—Sel. 46): an unusual variety of the usual meaning (= *inter se*) in Pliny and other writers of his age; cf. also III. 7. 15 (Sel. 25); IV. 19. 8 (Sel. 34); VII. 20. 7 (Sel. 51), and nn.

3. **litterae**: the word is apparently plural in meaning, being precisely synonymous with *epistulae* above. The

plurality of the idea is further indicated by the plural *sermonibus* in connection with it; cf. also the plural meaning in I. 10. 9 (Sel. 7); III. 20. 11.

ita me delectet ut torqueat, *may fill me with both delight and anguish*: the time-worn theme of the poets about 'love's pleasing pain' fits well with Pliny's liking for oxymoron.

44. (VI. 10.)

On the tomb of Verginius Rufus.—The Albinus addressed may be the Lucceius Albinus whose intimate friendship with Pliny dated from their partnership in the prosecution of Classicus (cf. III. 9. 7). Albinus was Pliny's associate also in the defence of Iulius Bassus in 103 or 104 A.D. (cf. IV. 9. 13). He may be the son of the Lucceius Albinus whose death is recorded in Tac. *Hist.* II. 58, 59, but he is otherwise unmentioned.

1. socrus meae: *sc.* Pompeia Celerina, the mother of a former wife of Pliny, but whether of the first or second cannot be determined (see X. 2. 2,—Sel. 74,—n. *duobus matrimoniis*). In the latter case she must have been by a second marriage the wife of Vettius Proculus (see IX. 13. 13 n.—Sel. 64). She seems to have been rich, for she owned villas also at Ocriculum, Narnia, Carsulum, and Perusia (I. 4. 1). Pliny was on the best of terms with her (*l.c.* and III. 19. 8), visiting at her country-seats, and using her means as his own.

Alsiensem: Alsium was a very ancient Etruscan town on the sea-coast near Caere, noted chiefly in later republican and in imperial times for the luxury of its villas, of which striking ruins yet remain near the present Palo.

Rufi Vergini: see II. 1. 1 (Sel. 15) n. *Vergini Rufi*. The inversion in the order of nomen and cognomen is common from Livy downward.

incolere secessum: so Pliny of his Laurentine villa in II. 17. 29 (Sel. 21) *incolere, inhabitare, diligere secessum*.

senectutis suae nidulum: cf. Aus. *Mos.* 449 *nidum senectae*; Hor. *Carm.* II. 6. 6 [*Tibur*] *sit meae sedes utinam senectae*.

2. contulissem: on the mood and tense see I. 12. 7 (Sel. 8) n. *quotiens intrasset*.

illum animus illum oculi requirebant: cf. Ov. *Met.* IV. 129 *iuuenem oculis animoque requirit*; Tac. *Agr.* 45 *desiderauere aliquid oculi tui*.

et: in the sense of *et tamen*; cf. III. 1. 9 (Sel. 23) n. *et antiquo*.

3. in causa: rare for the simple appositive or dative, but occurring elsewhere in Pliny (VII. 5. 1,—Sel. 48; VI. 1. 2), and once each even in Cicero and Livy (Cic. *Fam.* I. 1. 1; Liu. XL. 26. 5).

eius: doubtless the heir, who, having sold the estate, had neglected even the tomb. Verginius left no sons (cf. II. 1. 9,—Sel. 15).

subit indignatio cum miseratione: cf. III. 7. 10 (Sel. 25); V. 5. 7 (Sel. 37) *quod me recordantem miseratio subit.*

post decimum mortis annum: Verginius died toward the end of 97 A.D.; see intr. note to II. 1 (Sel. 15).

titulo, *inscription*: this technical word applies to other formal inscriptions than (as here) an 'epitaph.'

cuius memoria, etc.: cf. the same sentiment in II. 1. 11 (Sel. 15).

4. illud factum: see II. 1. 1 (Sel. 15) n. *triginta annis.*

uersibus: metrical epitaphs, or prose *tituli* concluded by verses, were as common among the Romans as in a previous generation among us. The epitaph is quoted again in IX. 19 (Sel. 65), where this letter is referred to. The monument was perhaps finished later, for Dio Cassius (LXVIII. 2. 4), speaking of Verginius, says, *ἐφ' οὗ τῷ μνήματι τελευτήσαντος ἐπεγράφη ὅτι νικήσας Οὐινδίκα τὸ κράτος οὐχ ἑαυτῷ περιεποιήσατο ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι.*

imperium adseruit, etc.: cf. Iustin. (VI. 8. 5) of Epaminondas, *imperium semper non sibi sed patriae quaesiuit.*

5. rara in amicitia fides: but Liu. XL. 46. 12 *uulgatum illud in prouerbium uenit, amicitias immortales, mortales inimicitias esse debere*; cf. Cic. *Amic.* 32 *uerae amicitiae sempiternae sunt*; et al.

45. (VI. 16.)

On the eruption of Vesuvius, and the death of Pliny the Elder.—This great volcanic outburst, which overwhelmed Herculaneum, Pompeii, and the surrounding country, and literally changed the face of nature, is mentioned by a number of writers, but Pliny's two letters (VI. 16 and 20,—Sel. 45 and 46) give the best impression of the scene. The only other extant account of any length is in the abridgment of Dio Cassius by Xiphilinus (LXVI. 21-23).—With the phenomena cited may be compared in detail those reported from

the terrific eruption of Mont Pelée in Martinique in May, 1902.—On Tacitus see intr. note to I. 6 (Sel. 5).

1. auunculi mei: on Pliny the Elder see III. 5 (Sel. 24) and nn.

morti ... immortalem: another instance of Pliny's fondness for oxymoron, as in § 2 *uicturus occiderit*.

2. quamuis: cf. v. 3. 10 (Sel. 36) n. *quamuis*.

ut populi, ut urbes (sc. *occiderunt*): not with reference to the specific cities destroyed in this eruption, but to the historic past. Individual men may die and no note be taken of their fate; but the downfall of nations (*populi*) and even of whole cities, cannot be forgotten. So a death like that of Pliny, connected as it was with a marvellous phenomenon, would secure him immortality.

plurima opera et mansura: for the list see III. 5. 2-6 (Sel. 24). Only the Natural History remains.

scriptorum tuorum aeternitas: cf. VII. 33. 1 (also to Tacitus) *auguror, nec me fallit augurium, historias tuas immortales futuras*. But the part of the *Historiae* of Tacitus which covered this period has been lost.

3. datum est: cf. III. 1. 1 (Sel. 23) n. *datum est*.

4. Miseni: two of the Roman fleets were regarded as under the immediate command of the emperor, and hence were called *classes praetoriae*. Of these one was stationed at Misenum (*cl. pr. Misenensis*) and the other at Ravenna (*cl. pr. Rauennas* or *Rauennatium*). The emperor's command was exercised through *praefecti* of equestrian rank. The other imperial fleets were similarly governed, but were not ranked as highly as these.

imperio: the word denoted in earlier times the supreme authority of the community in all matters of administration as vested in the higher officers of state (king, dictator, consul, praetor), but was more loosely applied to the supreme military authority alone. In the time of the empire the *imperium* of the emperor so far overshadowed that of other officials as to make the conception, and the word, one of comparatively little importance. The emperor's *imperium* was exercised not merely personally, but also through the officials who represented him in otherwise independent military commands, as doubtless through the prefects of the praetorian fleets; but the word is almost otiose, or at least purely formal, here in conjunction with *regebat*.

praesens: specified in view of the fact that the prefecture of the fleet was for the most part a bureaucratic office, and its

incumbent spent much of his time in desk-work at Rome; cf. III. 5. 9 (Sel. 24) n. *delegatum sibi officium*.

nonum kal. Septembres: the numeral would usually be written IX., and so written would commonly be read *nono* (sc. *die ante*). Some have suggested that Pliny wrote *a. d. nonum* or *a. d.* IX., but quite as likely, when the numeral stands alone immediately before the terminal day, it should be read as an accusative, with *ante diem* supplied before it, instead of as an ablative, with *die ante* supplied after it.—The year was 79 A.D. There has been doubt expressed occasionally as to whether the month is correctly given, or else whether this eruption could have been the one which destroyed Pompeii. The last serious attempt in this direction was upon the discovery at Pompeii in 1889 (see *Notizie d. Scavi*, 1889, p. 407) of the remains of a laurel tree in full fruit, which variety of laurel does not mature its fruit before November. But the supposed fruit turned out to be nothing but *lapilli* from the eruption, and the argument fell to the ground.

5. **usus ille sole**, etc.: on his habits at this time of day see III. 5. 11 (Sel. 24), and on the sun-bath III. 1. 8 (Sel. 23) and nn.

frigida (sc. *aqua*): cf. § 18 and III. 5. 11 (Sel. 24) n. *frigida*.

soleas, *sandals*: like our slippers, easier to the feet, and more easily put on, than the shoes (*calcei*) which were the ordinary footgear of the Romans out-of-doors. At home, when not moving around much, they went barefooted, as Pliny here.

incertum ex quo monte: Vesuvius is some 18 miles distant from Misenum, with the more distant Apennines behind it. Moreover, the heights of Posilipo lay almost in line between Misenum and Vesuvius, about 6 miles distant from the former.

Vesuuium: the so-called Monte Somma (a lower, outlying ridge) was then the highest part of the mountain, the present cone having arisen from this and succeeding eruptions. Vesuvius had been quiescent since before human record, though not before human tradition (cf. Vitruv. II. 6. 2; Diod. IV. 21). Yet the name of the mountain itself, and that of the region around it, point to a time of earlier volcanic activity. And warning of this great eruption had been given by earthquakes, one, on Feb. 5, 63 A.D., fairly wrecking a good part of Pompeii and of Herculaneum (see Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* VI. 1 ff.).

pinus: not the 'white pine' of the eastern United States, with its conical shape, tapering to a point upward, thus, ⏃, but an 'umbrella pine,' which frequently has an outline that can be diagrammed thus, ⏄ The cloud of vapour from even a small eruption often shows the same form.

6. nam longissimo, etc., *for it rose on high with, as it were, a very tall trunk, and spread out into a sort of branches,—because, I suppose, a vigorous blast of air impelled it upward, but when this impulse failed and ceased, or the weight of the vapour prevailed, it trailed away laterally.* The grammatical construction is clear, but Pliny's style labours greatly whenever he attempts to describe learnedly the phaenomena of nature: cf. also VI. 20. 9 (Sel. 46).

7. Liburnicam (sc. *nauem*): a light galley, the model of which was adopted from that of the swift pirate craft of the eastern Adriatic.

studere me malle: the reply is a good commentary upon the characteristics of the man to whose estate this boy of seventeen grew.

8. egrediebatur ... accipit ... orabat: the asyndetic parataxis is noticeable; cf. VI. 20. 14 (Sel. 46) n. *uix consideramus et.*

codicillos, *a note*: see I. 6. 1 (Sel. 5) n. *stilus et pugillares.*

Tasci: sc. *uxor*; cf. II. 20. 2 (Sel. 22) n. *Verania Pisonis.*

subiacebat: probably in the neighbourhood of Herculaneum; cf. also § 12 *diremptus sinu medio.*

nec ulla nisi nauibus fuga: probably in the immediate vicinity of the mountain the ashes were already falling thickly enough to block the roads, or at least to stop travel by them. (A slight fall of snow will completely paralyze traffic in a city unaccustomed to snow.) Perhaps also streams of mud (ashes mixed with rain, or an ejection from the volcano like that from a 'mud-geyser') had already run so far down the slopes of the mountain about Herculaneum as to render transit by the single coast road actually impossible.—The general opinion of scientists has been that Vesuvius could not have poured out actual streams of mud, but the as yet uncorrected reports of the explosive eruption in Martinique might indicate otherwise.

9. quod, etc., *what he had begun with the spirit of a scholar he carries out with the spirit of a hero.*

10. gubernacula, *helm*: the ancient ship was commonly steered by two sweeps with very broad blades, which projected one on each side of the stern, and were connected above so as to be managed by a single helmsman.

dictaret: *sc.* to his amanuensis.

enotaret: either the verb is used in the causative sense (*sc. per notarium*), as perhaps in III. 5. 10 (Sel. 24) *adnotabat*, etc.—cf. III. 5. 15—or to miss no details Pliny dictated some notes, and wrote others himself at the same time.

11. iam ... iam ... iam: of particulars succeeding one another rapidly; cf. an extension of the same use in VIII. 8. 3 (Sel. 57) *fons adhuc et iam amplissimum flumen*.

lapides: examination of the strata about Pompeii shows that the first shower was of fragments of pumice-stone, averaging not more than an inch or two in diameter, and falling to a depth of eight or ten feet. This was the shower into which the galleys now ran, and which continued at intervals till the next day. It did not reach Misenum, though the following shower of volcanic ash did (see VI. 20. 13, 16,—Sel. 46). This shower of ashes, mixed with rain, fell on Pompeii and Stabiae to the depth of six or seven feet, and was accompanied by earthquake shocks, and apparently by electric phenomena, or explosive blasts of gases or of superheated steam like those reported from Martinique.

uadum subitum: caused, not, as Pliny thought, by the accumulation of volcanic debris in the water, but by the seismic elevation of the bottom, such as often produces 'tidal waves' in connection with earthquakes; see also VI. 20. 9 (Sel. 46).

an retro flecteret: of course because of the impossibility of reaching the shore on account of the shoaling of the water; on this use of **an** see I. 18. 5 (Sel. 12) n. *an*.

fortes fortuna iuuat: the proverb, in one or another form, is found in both Greek and Latin literature: cf. *e.g.* Menand. ap. *apost.* 13. 36[a] *οὐ τοῖς ἀθύμοις ἡ τύχη συλλαμβάνει*; Enn. ap. Macrob. VI. 1. 62 *fortibus est fortuna uiris data*; Ter. *Phor.* 203 *fortes fortuna adiuuat*; and frequently later. Among both Greeks and Latins *deus* (*ὁ θεός*), or in the amatory writers even *Venus*, sometimes takes the place of *fortuna*.

Pomponianum: otherwise unknown, as is the fate of Rectina.

12. Stabiis: Stabiae lay on the coast across the river Sarnus (Sarno) from Pompeii, under the heights of Monte S. Angelo, and was also overwhelmed with ashes. Castellamare

is its modern representative, but stands somewhat to the southwestward of the ancient site.

sinu medio: not the Bay of Naples, but the part of it called the *sinus Stabianus*, the curve of which has been much obliterated by the pushing out of the shore about the mouth of the Sarnus.

quanquam, etc.: apparently the cloud of falling pumice-stone had not yet reached Stabiae, but its advance was momentarily expected, and when it did so advance (*cum* **cresceret** [*periculum*]) the peril of the inhabitants would be immediate and pressing (**proximo**).—Pliny's fondness for the use of *quanquam* with other constructions than those of finite verbs (cf. I. 12. 3,—Sel. 8,—n. *quanquam*) leads him to employ it occasionally, as here, even with the ablative absolute; cf. also X. 33. 1 (Sel. 88) *quanquam uia interiacente*; 81. 6 *quanquam plurimis diebus expectatis*.—The clause **cum cresceret** takes the place of a protasis, of which the apodosis is expressed by [**periculo**] **proximo**.

contrarius uentus: the vessels of the ancients were very poor at beating against the wind, and the getting off from a lee shore added to the difficulty.

deferri, *to be taken*.

accubat: cf. II. 6. 3 (Sel. 16) n. *recumbebat*, and the same collocation in III. 1. 8 (Sel. 23) *lotus accubat*. The time must have been late in the afternoon.

13. relictos: *sc.* instead of being put out when the occupants left their huts of thatch.

uillas, *farmhouses*.

quieuit uerissimo somno: Pliny's ability to command sleep at will is referred to also in III. 5. 8 (Sel. 24).

meatus animae, qui ... sonantior erat: *i.e.* Pliny was fat and snored.

qui limini obuersabantur: his body-slaves, whose post would be just outside their master's door, rather than the other and more wakeful occupants of the house.

14. diaeta, *apartment*: perhaps consisting of a bedroom, and an anteroom (*procoeton*) with small alcove or room for the attendant's bed; cf. such an apartment in the so-called villa of Diomed, outside the Herculanean gate of Pompeii, and a more elaborate *diaeta* in Pliny's Laurentine villa (II. 17. 20 ff., —Sel. 21).

mora (sc. *esset*): another instance of Pliny's free ellipsis of verbs, even in the subjunctive mood; cf. III. 1. 5 (Sel. 23) n. *liber, sermo*.

16. ceruicalia: either 'pillows' or 'cushions,' as **linteis** may be either 'napkins' (handkerchiefs) or 'towels,' or even more generally 'cloths.'

17. ecquid iam mare admitteret: *sc.* in the launching of vessels; cf. § 12 *contrarius uentus*, etc. The coast road to Surrentum (Sorrento) doubtless appeared impassable; cf. § 8 n. *nec ulla nisi nauibus fuga.*

uastum et aduersum, *wild and tempestuous.*

18. abiectum, *discarded.*

linteum: possibly, as has been often suggested, a worn-out sail that had been thrown away on the beach; but *linteum* is a word of general meaning; cf. § 16 n. *ceruicalia.*

recubans: he was doubtless already suffering from dyspnoea.

semel atque iterum: as indefinite in meaning as our 'once and again,' with the same tendency toward the meaning of indefinite plurality. In IV. 3. 1 *semel atque iterum consul fuisti* (the only other place where Pliny uses the phrase) it may be politely indefinite in meaning,—but as to the fact, Antoninus can hardly have been consul more than twice. The phrase occurs with similar wavering in meaning between 'twice' and 'repeatedly' in writers from Caesar and Cicero onward. Cf. also II. 11. 11 (Sel. 17) n. *non semel.*

frigidam (*sc. aquam*): as often in colloquial use: see III. 5. 11 (Sel. 24) n. *frigida.*

flammae: perhaps, though at a distance, such bursts of exploding gases as are reported to have formed the most deadly force at Martinique.

excitant, *arouse*: he was apparently sinking into coma.

19. concidit: either dead on the spot, or unconscious, and dying within a few minutes. The frightened slaves either thought him dead or dying, or despaired of their own safety in case they had to assist their bulky and at least half-unconscious master along. At all events they fled at once, and the story of these last moments rested only on their account.

crassiore caligine: Pliny may have died like the many victims in and about St. Pierre, who were suffocated by the dense, low-rolling cloud of super-heated vapours laden with hot volcanic sand.

stomacho: of course Pliny confuses the oesophagus and the trachea.

aestuans, *inflamed*: he perhaps suffered from asthma.

20. dies: almost the 'light of day'; cf. VI. 20. 6 (Sel. 46) n. *adhuc ... dies.*

quem nouissime uiderat: *sc.* the day the eruption began; for on the day of his death no daylight was visible (see § 17).

tertius: *sc.* according to the Roman fashion of reckoning both the starting and the stopping point in an ordinal series,—'the next but one' (Aug. 26). Cf. from the Apostles' Creed, 'the third day He rose again from the dead.'

integrum, etc.: thus supporting the statement of the slaves, who might be suspected of abandoning their master in his hurried flight, or even of murdering him, that they might secure their own escape; cf. also Suet. *Rell.* p. 93 Reiff. [*Plinius Secundus*] *periit clade Campaniae; cum enim Misenensi classi praeesset, et flagrante Vesuuio ad explorandas propius causas Liburnica pertendisset, nec aduersantibus uentis remeare posset, ui pulueris ac fauillae oppressus est, uel, ut quidam existimant, a seruo suo occisus, quem aestu deficiens ut necem sibi maturaret orauerit.*

22. finem ergo faciam. unum adiciam: cf. Cic. *Fam.* IV. 5. 6 *si hoc unum proposuero, finem faciam scribendi.*

46. (VI. 20.)

On the eruption of Vesuvius (continued from VI. 16,—Sel. 45).

1. 'quanquam ... incipiam': the words of Aeneas to Dido in Verg. *Aen.* II. 12, 13.

2. reliquum tempus studiis impendi: the implication is that he did not once look in the direction of Vesuvius to see how the phaenomenon was progressing, even though he knew the danger of Rectina and others!

remanseram: cf. VI. 16. 7 (Sel. 45).

mox, *then*: cf. VII. 4. 3 (Sel. 47) n. *mox.*

3. inualuit: cf. VI. 16. 15 (Sel. 45) of the same night at Stabiae.

4. in uicem: cf. VI. 7. 2 (Sel. 43) n. *in uicem.*

area quae ... diuidebat: the house, doubtless with its complex of courts, gardens, and apartments like those of the younger Pliny's villa at Laurentum, also like it was built close to the shore (cf. II. 17. 5,—Sel. 21,—n. *in litus excurrit*). In the narrow (§ 6) open space between the house and the sea they now sought refuge.

5. **agebam duodeuicensimum annum**: the year of Pliny's birth is determined from this remark. He was born between Aug. 24, 61 A.D. and Aug. 24, 62 A.D.

excerpo: the elder Pliny was training the younger to his own habits; cf. III. 5. 10 (Sel. 24) n. *excerpebat.*

ex Hispania: where the elder Pliny had served as procurator; see III. 5. 17 (Sel. 24) n. *cum procuraret in Hispania.*

6. **hora diei prima**: about six o'clock at that time of year in Campania, when the sun should have been clear above the horizon in all the brightness of a summer day in a climate where not even clouds are expected in August.

adhuc dubius et quasi languidus dies, *the light was still struggling and as it were sickly.* In Stabiae it was dark as Egypt (cf. VI. 16. 17,—Sel. 45). With **dies** for 'day-light' cf. § 16; V. 6. 33; VI. 16. 20 (Sel. 45); VII. 27. 13 (Sel. 54); IX. 36. 2 (Sel. 70) *die admisso.*

quanquam ... tamen: cf. the similar structure of the phrase in VI. 16. 12 (Sel. 45). On **quanquam** cf. I. 12. 3 (Sel. 8) n. *quanquam.*

7. **excedere oppido**: the admiral's residence probably lay toward the extreme end of the narrow promontory of Misenum, just beyond the town, the single street through which was the only path to the mainland beyond.

sequitur uulgus attonitum: for the admiral's family were the great people of the place, and they had to pass through the town to escape.

8. **tecta**: the buildings of the town.

produci: in case further flight seemed necessary.

9. **mare in se resorberi**, etc.: see VI. 16. 11 (Sel. 45) n. *uadum subitum.*

ab altero latere: *i.e.* the opposite side from the shore; for they had passed through the *schola armaturarum* south of the inner port ('Mare Morto') along the 'Spiaggia di Miniscola,' so that the southwest shore of the peninsula lay immediately at their left, and Vesuvius in the distance to their right.

nubes ... dehiscebat, *a black and awful cloud, riven by jagged, darting rushes of flaming vapour, was splitting into long fiery shapes.* This was perhaps the renewal of the outburst at the time of the elder Pliny's death (cf. VI. 16. 18,—Sel. 45).

11. **proripit se**, etc., *he hurries off on the full run and flees the peril*: and Pliny and his mother a short time later yielded to the same tendency.

illa nubes: from this cloud the ashes fell that completed the entombment of the doomed towns (see VI. 16. 11,—Sel. 45,—n. *lapides*). The shower apparently did not begin till after Pliny's death. Before that time pumice-stone had been falling (cf. VI. 16, 11, 14, 16,—Sel. 45).

Capreas: as they looked backward toward and beyond Misenum, the towering island of Capri lay directly in their line of vision across the bay of Naples to the southward.

Miseni quod procurrit: *i.e.* the lofty promontory that tips the cape; there lay the house they had recently left.

12. corpore grauem: she was apparently of the same bodily habit as her brother.

14. uix consideramus et: Pliny has a liking for the paratactic construction in vivid narrative. **et** stands for an expected *cum*; cf. also the cases where neither *cum* nor *et* is used, *e.g.* VI. 16. 8 (Sel. 45); IX. 13. 11 (Sel. 64); III. 14. 2 *lauabatur in uilla Formiana; repente eum serui circumsistunt.* The construction with *et* (or *-que*) for *cum* is even Vergilian; cf. *Aen.* II. 692; III. 8 f.

erant qui metu mortis mortem precarentur: cf. Lucr. III. 79 f. *mortis formidine uitae | percipit humanos odium lucisque uidendae*; Sen. *Brev. Vit.* 16. 2 *mortem saepe ideo optant quia timent.*

15. nusquam iam deos ullos: *i.e.* even the gods also had perished; cf. Sen. *Ben.* VI. 22 *ignis cuncta possideat, quem deinde pigra nox occupet, et profunda uoragq tot deos sorbeat.*

aeternam illam, etc.: Xiphilinus preserves a vigorous passage from Dio, LXVI. 23 *νύξ τε οὖν ἐξ ἡμέρας καὶ σκότος ἐκ φωτὸς ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐδόκουν οἱ μὲν τοὺς γίγαντας ἐπανίστασθαι (πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τότε εἴδωλα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ καπνῷ διεφαίνετο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ σαλπίγγων τις βοὴ ἠκούετο), οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς χάος ἢ καὶ πῦρ τὸν κόσμον πάντα ἀναλίσκεσθαι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἔφυγον*, κ.τ.λ.—The final destruction of the world by fire is a belief more common among southern races, while that of its end in a night of eternal darkness and frost is more common among northern races, to whom warmth is a pleasant conception (cf. the Götterdämmerung of the Scandinavian and Germanic mythology). But among all nations alike, east and west, north and south (even now among the Chinese, African tribes, and the like), the unusual obscuration of the sun (as by an eclipse) aroused a fear that it might have ceased forever its shining: cf. Verg. *Geor.* I. 466 ff. [*sol*] *etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romam, | cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit | impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula*

noctem; Sen. *Thyes.* 830 ff. *trepidant, trepidant pectora magno | percussa metu, ne fatali | cuncta ruina quassata labent, | iterum terras et mare et ignes | et uaga picti sidera mundi | natura tegas, iterumque deos | hominesque premat deforme chaos* (cf. *id. Ben.* VI. 22); Luc. *Phars.* V. 634 ff. *extimuit natura chaos: rupisse uidentur | concordes elementa moras, rursusque redire | nox manes mixtura deis.*

16. dies: see § 6 n. *dies.*

cinis: Dio (LXVI. 23. 4) says that the ashes from the eruption were carried as far as Africa, Syria, and Egypt; and that at Rome they filled the air and obscured the sun.

17. me cum omnibus, etc.: a commonplace of practical philosophy from much earlier times; cf. Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* VI. 2. 9 *si cadendum est, cadam orbe concusso, non quia fas est optare publicam cladem, sed quia ingens mortis solacium est terram quoque uidere mortalem*; *Med.* 426 f. *sola est quies | mecum ruina cuncta si uideo obruta*; *Tro.* 1016 f. *ferre quam sortem patiuntur omnes | nemo recusat.*

18. dies uerus: the afternoon of the 26th. They returned to Misenum in time for the usual bath and dinner (see below).

19. utcumque, *as best we could*: see I. 12. 2 (Sel. 8) n. *utcumque.*

lymphati: many people were similarly affected at the time of the great earthquake of 63 A.D.; cf. Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* VI. 1. 3 *motae post hoc mentis aliquos atque impotentes sui errasse*; *ibid.* VI. 29. 1 *ubi [metus] publice terret, ubi cadunt urbes, populi opprimuntur, terra concutitur, quid mirum est animos inter dolorem et metum destitutos aberrasse? non est facile inter magna mala non desipere.*

20. de auunculo nuntius: the elder Pliny's body had been recovered on the morning of the previous day (Aug. 26), but in the confusion and terror of the time no news had yet reached Misenum from Stabiae.

LIBER VII.

47. (VII. 4.)

The history of Pliny's verse-writing.—On Pontius (Allifanus) see introd. note to v. 14 (Sel. 38).

1. hendecasyllabos meos: erotic poems in the Phalaecean metre, best known in Latin from its use by Catullus. The book is specially referred to in IV. 14 (cf. also V. 3. 2,—Sel. 36,—n. *facio uersiculos*).

altius repetam: see II. 6. 1 (Sel. 16) n. *altius repetere*.

3. mox, *later* (rather than 'soon'), as frequently in this period; cf. I. 5. 8 (Sel. 4) n. *mox*.

e militia rediens: from his service as *tribunus militum laticlauius* in Syria; see III. 11. 5 (Sel. 26), and Introd. p. xxi.

Icaria (mod. Nikaria): one of the Sporades, just west of Samos.

elegos: poems in the 'elegiac' rhythm, dactylic hexameters alternating with dactylic pentameters.

aliquando, *occasionally* (= *nonnumquam*): as in V. 3. 2 (Sel. 36).

heroo: *i.e.* epic (of course in dactylic hexameters).

hic, haec: of the following, instead of the preceding, particular, as occasionally in Pliny; cf. also I. 20. 21 (Sel. 13) n. *illud, hoc*.

natalis, *the origin*: in this sense not unusual (in the plural) of persons (cf. III. 20. 6; VI. 23. 3; VIII. 18. 8; X. 72, 73); but in the singular apparently confined elsewhere to juristic and ecclesiastical Latin, and of persons only (?).

Asini Galli: not the Asinius Gallus to whom Pliny addresses II. 17 (Sel. 21), IV. 17, and VIII. 20, but the son of the renowned Asinius Pollio. Gallus was born in 41 B.C., and on his birth (probably) Vergil wrote his fourth eclogue. He was a great favourite of Augustus, and held the high offices of state under him. But he married Vipsania Agrippina, the divorced wife of Tiberius, and for this and other reasons was jealously regarded by that Emperor. Long spared, he was finally condemned to death by an obsequious senate, but suffered close imprisonment for three years after his sentence, when he died of hunger (33 A.D.), whether voluntarily or not is unknown. His lost work in several books on the comparison of his father with Cicero was apparently, like most such works of the day, a virulent personal invective against the greater orator, whose style was so very different from the fantastic archaizing of Pollio, and who stood on the opposite political side from his thirty years younger contemporary. The work is referred to by Quintilian (XII. 1. 22), and by Gellius (XVII. 1. 1). It may well be doubted whether the 'epigram' Gallus quoted was

from the pen of Cicero, whose personal character in his relations with his friend and freedman, Tiro, as with all others, is perfectly well known and above suspicion. Cf. v. 3. 5 (Sel. 36) n. *M. Tullium.*

epigramma: any short personal address in verse was so called, whether friendly in tone or otherwise.

4. meridie dormiturus: see III. 5. 11 (Sel. 24) n. *dormiebat minimum.*

erat enim aestas: in the winter Pliny did not take the siesta; cf. IX. 36. 3 (Sel. 70) *paulum redormio* with IX. 40. 1, 2 (Sel. 72) *hieme . . . meridianus somnus eximitur.*

maximos oratores, etc.: cf. v. 3. 5 (Sel. 36) nn.; VII. 9. 12 (Sel. 49).

5. exaraui: the word is appropriate to the scratches made by the stylus in the wax tablets, but comes to be used in later ages as a true synonym for *scribere.*

9. quoque: cf. I. 10. 5 (Sel. 7) n. *quoque.*

quos ... docuit: the Greek was ever wily; they may have told Pliny that they learned Latin to enjoy more perfectly his book.

cithara, lyra: see IV. 19. 4 (Sel. 34) n. *cantat formatque cithara.* Each instrument had normally seven strings, with the compass of an octave, but the *lyra* was made with a full resonant base (*testudo*), and when played usually rested on the ground, while the *cithara* was held free in the left hand, or rested on the knee of the player. The *lyra* must have had, accordingly, a fuller tone, and have been best adapted, as an accompanying instrument, to strong voices, or to choruses.

10. tam gloriose: Cicero remarks (*Tusc.* v. 63), *in hoc genere nescio quo pacto magis quam in aliis suum cuique pulchrum est. adhuc neminem cognoui poetam (et mihi fuit cum Aquinio amicitia) qui sibi non optimus uideretur.* Cicero himself seems to have thought more of his own poor poems than of his oratory.

furere: Plato said (*Phaedr.* 245A) poets were madmen, and many other writers recognize the afflatus of the god in all true poets (cf. Democritus ap. Cic. *Diuin.* I. 80; *De Or.* II. 194; *Arch.* 18; Hor. *A. P.* 296; even Pope's 'great wits are sure to madness close allied'): and Pliny humorously twists this notion of inspiration into the service of his enthusiastic ravings about not some divine theme but himself.

non de meo sed, etc.: cf. the similar ending in IX. 23. 6 (Sel. 67) *neque enim uereor ne iactantior uidear, cum de me alienum iudicium non meum profero.*

ut posteri errent similiter: so at the end of I. 2 (Sel. 2) of the booksellers, *nisi blandiuntur,—sed sane blandiantur dum*, etc.

48. (VII. 5.)

To his absent wife.—The separation of this letter from the former ones on a similar theme makes it likely that the absence referred to is not the same in all (cf. VI. 4, 7,—Sel. 42, 43). With the charming avowal of his loneliness may be compared Shakspere's *Sonnets* 27, where, however, it was the poet who was on a journey.

1. in causa: cf. VI. 10. 3 (Sel. 44) n. *in causa*.

in imagine tua: *i.e.* in conjuring you up before my imagination; so Thomas Gray writes to Bonstetten, 'My life now is but a conversation with your shadow'; and Shakspere *Sonnets* 27 (of the night), 'my soul's imaginary sight | presents thy shadow to my sightless view.'

ut dicitur: cf. the same proverbial expression in Theocr. 13. 70 ᾧ πόδες ἄγον, ἐχώρει (*id.* 14. 42; Lucian *Hermot.* 28); Hor. *Epod.* 16. 21 *ire pedes quocumque ferent* (also *Carm.* III. 11. 49); Verg. *Ecl.* 9. 1 *quo te, Moeri, pedes?* Phaedr. *App.* 18. 15 *abire destinaui quo tulerint pedes*; Varr. *R. R.* II. *proem.* 6 *te adducunt pedes*.

similis excluso: the woes of the lover turned away from his mistress' door are set forth in frequent and poignant detail by the elegiasts.

tormentis: cf. also VI. 1. 2, where his *desiderium* for an absent male friend is also *tormentum*, and, as here, his own presence in the place where they had been together is an added pang. The lover protests, if not too much, at least too often in too similar tones of anguish to too many different people. Yet this letter is an admirable model, and innumerable lovers since Pliny's day have made the same professions in similar if less neatly turned phrases.

49. (VII. 9.)

On proper vacation studies.—Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator is praised by Pliny in VI. 26, where mention is made of his betrothal to a daughter of Iulius Seruianus. His appearance as an advocate gives another occasion for panegyric in VI. 11. He was *cos. ordinarius* in 118 A.D., in which year a son was born to him, who was put to death by Hadrian with Servianus in 136 A.D. on the suspicion of aspiring to the throne (Dio LXIX.

17. Spart. *Hadr.* 23. To Fuscus Pliny wrote two other letters (IX. 36, 40.—Sel. 70, 72), in which he describes his own manner of life in vacation time.

2 multi praecipiunt: cf. especially Quintilian (X. 5. 2 ff.), who cites L. Crassus (ap. Cic. *De Or.* I. 155), Cicero, and Messalla, and supports his argument in detail much as does Pliny, who doubtless learned his lesson from Quintilian.

quae legentem fefellissent, etc.: cf. Quint. X. 5. 8 *auctores maximi sic diligentius cognoscuntur. non enim scripta lectione semel transcurrimus, sed tractamus singula et necessario retractamus, et quantum uirtutis habeant uel hoc ipso cognoscimus, quod imitari non possumus.* The condition is one 'contrary to fact,' the place of the protasis being taken by the present participle; cf. Cic. *Arch.* 25 *Sulla . . . credo, hunc petentem repudiasset.*

3. nihil offuerit: the 'subjunctive of modest assertion,' often called the 'potential subjunctive'; cf. VIII. 8. 4 (Sel. 57) *certauerit.*

hactenus ut ... teneas, *etc.*: *i.e.* to read so much only of the work at one time as you can carry in mind in its topic and outline of treatment, and then, following the same skeleton, write it out in your own words, and compare it with the original. Cf. Cic. *De Or.* I. 154 *oratione aliqua lecta ad eum finem quem memoria possem comprehendere, eam rem ipsam quam legissem uerbis aliis quam maxime possem lectis pronuntiarem.*

teneas: sc. *memoriā*, as in I. 22. 2; III. 21. 4 (Sel. 29); VII. 25. 4; VIII. 14. 3; IX. 36. 2 (Sel. 70); but VI. 33. 11 *memoriter tenes.*

tu ... ille: with ellipsis of the verb, even in the subjunctive; cf. III. 1. 5 (Sel. 23) n. *liber, sermo;* and *si tu ... si ille* immediately below.

6. noua membra peracto corpori intexere nec tamen priora turbare: the figure is curiously portentous; with *membra* in this meaning cf. VIII. 4. 7 (Sel. 56).

7. pugnacem hunc et quasi bellatorium stilum: similarly Quintilian of a lawyer's life (X. 5. 16), *ipse ille mucro ingenii cotidiana pugna retundatur*; id. X. 1. 29 *nos uero* [*oratores*] *armatos stare in acie et summis de rebus decernere et ad uictoriam niti.*

uariis mutatisque seminibus: the rotation of crops.

8. non historica modo sed prope poetica, etc.: cf. II. 5. 5 *descriptiones locorum, quae in hoc libro* [*actionis*] *frequentiores erunt, non historice tantum sed prope poetice prosequi fas est.*

pressus sermo ... petitur: cf. I. 16. 6 (Sel. 11) n. *Plautum uel Terentium.*

9. carmine remitti: cf. Quint. X. 5. 15 *ne carmine quidem ludere contrarium fuerit; sicut athletae, remissa quibusdam temporibus ciborum atque exercitationum certa necessitate, otio et iucundioribus eduliis reficiuntur.* With the sentiment of this and the following sections may be compared Cicero's well-known defence of poetry in his speech for Archias, as also Sir Philip Sidney's *An Apologie for Poetrie*, as well as many other writings of different men.

11. cerae, etc.: the figure is ancient and common; cf. *e.g.* Hor. *A.P.* 163 [*iuuenis*] *cereus in uitium flecti*; Pers. 5. 39 f. *prerumpitur ratione animus uincique laborat | artificemque tuo ducit sub pollice uultum*; Iuu. 7. 237 f. *ut mores teneros ceu pollice ducat, | ut si quis cera uoltum facit.*

sacri fontes: see VIII. 8. 2 (Sel. 57) n. *iactas stipes.*

prata iuuant: cf. Ou. *A.A.* I. 647 *iuuantibus arua imbribus.*

12. summi oratores, etc.: cf. VII. 4. 4 (Sel. 47); V. 3. 5 (Sel. 36) nn.

13. mirum est ut animus intendatur: cf. I. 6. 2 (Sel. 5) n. *mirum est ut animus excitetur.*

recipiunt enim amores, etc.: cf. IV. 14. 3 *his iocamur, ludimus, amamus, dolemus, querimur, irascimur, describimus aliquid*, etc.

14. metri necessitate deuincti, *after having been bound with the confinements of metre.* With the phrase cf. Cic. *Fat.* 20 *mentem hominis necessitate fati deuinciunt.*

15. quanquam: cf. III. 7. 12 (Sel. 25) n. *quanquam.*

aiunt enim multum, etc.: cf. Quint. X. 1. 59 *multa magis quam multorum lectione formanda mens.* Döring quotes Luther, 'Viel Bücher machen nicht gelehrt, viel Lesen auch nicht, sondern gut Ding, und offt lesen, wie wenig sein ist, das macht gelehrt.'

16. qui sint hi, etc.: but Quintilian gives an interesting list, with interesting comments, in X. 1. 46 ff.

pugillares: cf. I. 6. 1 (Sel. 5) n. *pugillares.*

50. (VII. 19.)

The illness of Fannia.—On Priscus see introd. note to II. 13 (Sel. 19).

1. Fanniae: granddaughter of Caecina Paetus and Arria (*major*), daughter of Thrasea Paetus and Arria (*minor*), wife

of Heluidius Priscus. Our fullest knowledge of her comes from this letter, and from a few references elsewhere in Pliny; see especially III. 11. 3 (Sel. 26) nn., and the *stemma* there given.

Iuniae: otherwise unknown.

Virgini: sc. *Vestali*, as commonly. The adjective is also frequently used alone, as in IV. 11. 6 (Sel. 32), *q. u.* with notes.

sponte: see I. 12. 1 (Sel. 8) n. *sponte.*

pontificum: under whose charge the worship of Vesta was conducted by the Virgines; see IV. 11. 6 (Sel. 32) nn.

2. atrio Vestae: the house of the community of Vestals, closely adjacent to the temple of Vesta and to the Regia, and lying just southeast of the limits of the Forum Romanum, under the northern corner of the Palatine Hill. It was excavated in 1883, and some accessory investigations have recently been carried on.

3. insident febres, *the fever-attacks have established themselves*: *i.e.* there is continuous, and not intermittent fever; cf. Celsus II. 6 *neque is seruari potest . . . cui simul et continua febris et ultima corporis infirmitas est.* Cf. the plural also in this sense in I. 22. 7 *incredibilem febrium ardorem.*

Heluidio marito: see III. 11. 3 (Sel. 26) n. *Heluidio.*

Thrasea patre: see III. 16. 10 (Sel. 28) n. *Thrasea.*

4. nescio an: with the inclination toward the negation, as in III. 1. 1 (Sel. 23); see I. 15. 3 (Sel. 10) n. *nescio an.*

aliquid simile: so of Verginius Rufus in II. 1. 12 (Sel. 15), whose like in glory will never be seen again.

sanctitas, grauitas, constantia: virtues that are usually considered preeminently masculine (cf. § 7),—but Fannia, like her mother and grandmother, must have had some traits of masculinity. Cf. (of Titius Aristo) I. 22. 1 *nihil est enim illo grauius, sanctius, doctius*: *ibid.* 7 *nemini istorum castitate, pietate, iustitia, fortitudine etiam primo loco cesserit*; et mult. al.

bis: in 66 A.D., under Nero, and again under Vespasian.

ipsa relegata: in 93 A.D., under Domitian, in the case mentioned below, which resulted in the execution of Senecio (cf. Tac. *Agr.* 45 *tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas*). She returned from exile, with Mauricus and others, upon the opening of Nerva's reign; see IX. 13. 5 (Sel. 64).

5. Senecio: see I. 5. 3 (Sel. 4) n. *Herennium Senecionem.*

Mettio Caro: see I. 5. 3 (Sel. 4) n. *Mettius Carus.*

commentarios: probably 'note-books' or a 'journal' kept by her husband (cf. the famous *commentarii* of Agrippina). Yet the word is also applied to historical works, especially concerning one's own time, written without pretence at elaboration in composition,—as to the works of Caesar on the Gallic and the civil wars. On its use to denote volumes of excerpts and the like see III. 5. 17 (Sel. 24).

matre: the younger Arria: see III. 11. 3 (Sel. 26) n. *Arria.*

nesciente: Fannia did her utmost to shield her mother from the responsibility of what probably was at least known to her. If she told a lie she was *splendide mendax et in omne [filia] nobilis aeuum.* Senecio did not do as much for her. But Arria was exiled nevertheless, being recalled at the same time with her daughter (cf. IX. 13. 3,—Sel. 64).

6. illos ipsos libros: *i.e.* at least one copy.

ex necessitate et metu temporum: Pliny himself was a member of the senate at the time and even praetor (III. 11. 2,—Sel. 26), and few of the senators but cut a sorry figure in that year of terror. Pliny's apology is worse than the confession and shame of Tacitus (*Agr.* 45 *nostrae duxere Heluidium in carcerem manus; nos Maurici Rusticique uisus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit*, etc.)

abolitos, *suppressed*: the books were burned publicly by the common executioners: see Tac. *Agr.* 2 *legimus cum Arulenо Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Heluidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saeuitum, delegato triumuiris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur.*

publicatis bonis: see IV. 11. 13 (Sel. 32) n. *bona publicarentur*; I. 5. 5 (Sel. 4) n. *relegatus.*

7. datum est: see III. 1. 1 (Sel. 23) n. *datum est.*

8. adhuc posteros habeat: the younger Heluidius (husband of Anteia, and stepson of Fannia) left a son and two daughters. The two daughters married, but died at about the same time, several years before this illness of Fannia, each leaving an infant daughter (IV. 21. 1), whose fate is unknown. The son survived them (IV. 21. 3), and the name was kept alive, as is shown by the mention of a L. Valerius Heluidius Priscus Publicola, and a L. Valerius Messalla Thrasea Priscus, who was cos. ord. in 196 A.D. (cf. Orelli *Inscr.* 4135).

nouissima, *the last of her kind*: cf. III. 7. 9 (Sel. 25) *nouissimus.*

9. amittere: nothing is known of Arria after her return from exile (mentioned here in § 10, and in IX. 13. 5,—Sel. 64), and the date of her death, itself mentioned only here, is unknown. The *terminus post quem* is 97 A.D., the *terminus ante quem* is the date of the letters of this seventh book,—perhaps about 107 A.D. (see Introd. p. xl.).

10. ultor reuersarum: see I. 5 (Sel. 4), and IX. 13 (Sel. 64).

11. eram, scriberem: epistolary tenses.

is deus aliquis: see I. 5. 5 (Sel. 4) n. *mihi deos adfuisse*; and especially (of the illness of a friend) I. 22. 11 *superest ut promissis [medicorum] deus adnuat.*

51. (VII. 20.)

Tacitus as Pliny's model.—On Tacitus himself see introd. note to I. 6 (Sel. 5).

1. librum: probably a speech, rather than one of the books of the Histories, on which Tacitus was engaged about this time. So also Pliny's **librum** (§ 2), as usual.

2. o pulchras uices: cf. III. 7. 15 (Sel. 25) *ἀγαθὴ δ' ἔρις cum in uicem se mutuis exhortationibus amici ad amorem immortalitatis exacuunt.*

3. aetate propemodum aequales: the year of Pliny's birth is determined from VI. 20. 5 (Sel. 46) *q.u.*: that of Tacitus is unknown: but this passage, and that in § 4, in connection chiefly with what is known of the *cursus honorum* of Tacitus, lead to the conclusion that he was born in 55 or 56 A.D.

dignitate: both had been consul; of the high and equal sacerdotal functions, Pliny filled a place in the college of augurs, Tacitus in that of the *quindecimuiri sacris faciundis*. It is not known whether Tacitus had been given any post-consular office like that of Pliny's curatorship of the Tiber, but within two years or so after this letter was written Tacitus became governor of the province of Asia (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890, p. 621), while Pliny a little later was imperial legate of Bithynia.

4. adulescentulus: doubtless he speaks of himself at the time when he was just beginning his legal career, at the age of nineteen or twenty (see II. 14. 2 n.,—Sel. 20; I. 18. 3 n.,—Sel. 12), and Tacitus had already established his reputation.

'longo sed proximus interuallo': quoted from Verg. *Aen.* v. 320, of Salius in the foot-race; cf. Quint. X. 1. 53 (of

Antimachus in comparison with Homer) *ut plane manifesto appareat quanto sit aliud proximum esse, aliud secundum*; and for the same idea, Cic. *Brut.* 173; Hor. *Carm.* I. 12. 17 ff.

similitudo naturae: little is known of the oratorical characteristics of Tacitus, but his historical works show a nature by no means like that of Pliny. The close tie between them, which may have seemed closer to Pliny than to Tacitus, must have been due, as not infrequently in friendships, to an appreciation and sympathy in unlikeness rather than in likeness.

5. una nominamur: see especially the incident in IX. 23. 2 (Sel. 67).

6. nam mihi primus, etc., *for in my view he stands first who stands next you*: cf. 'where the Douglas sits is the head of the table.'

in testamentis: throughout the first century the custom had been growing of leaving legacies, not simply to one's personal relatives and friends, or to the emperor and his especial favourites (often as a sop to secure the inviolability of the other legacies), but to prominent men, even if not personal friends of the testator: cf. especially the famous will of Dasumius, written 108 A.D., in which Tacitus and Pliny are united, with many others, as legatees (*C.I.L.* VI. 10229; Wilmanns *Exempla* 314; Bruns *Fontes*[6] 98).

accipimus: the parataxis, in place of the infinitive with subject accusative, is indeed remarkable, even in a writer who is so fond as Pliny of parataxis.

eadem: *sc.* the same in amount.

pariter: *sc.* with the names standing in juxtaposition, as in the will of Dasumius.

7. in uicem, *each other*: see III. 7. 15 (Sel. 25); IV. 19. 8 (Sel. 34); VI. 7. 2 (Sel. 43), and nn.

52. (VII. 24.)

On the death of a lively old woman.—Geminus does not appear as a correspondent of Pliny till the seventh book. To him are addressed five other letters,—VII. 1, VIII. 5, 22, IX. 11 (Sel. 63), 30. He is probably the (T. Prifernius Paetus) Rosianus Geminus who was quaestor under Pliny as consul (X. 26), served as an officer in the Dacian war (*ibid.*), and is mentioned in inscriptions as late as 152 A.D.

1. Vmmidia Quadratilla: her liking for theatrical shows is perhaps indicated by the fact of her building an amphitheatre and (adjacent ?) temple at Casinum, remains of which still exist. See the inscription (Orelli 781) now preserved in the cloisters of the monastery of Monte Cassino.

uiridis: cf. I. 12. 5 (Sel. 8) n. *uiridis aetas*; Sen. *Ep.* 66. 1 *senem, sed mehercules uiridem animo ac uigentem et cum corpusculo suo conluctantem.*

ultra matronalem modum: evidently the highbred Roman matron did not incline to corporeal brevity and *embonpoint*.

compacto corpore et robusto: *i.e.* Vmmidia was short and fat, like a peasant woman. Cf. Pliny's polite euphemism in VI. 16. 13 (Sel. 45), of his uncle snoring.

2. honestissimo testamento: *i.e.* she left her property to her natural heirs, and not to legacy-hunters, to whose wiles a woman of Vmmidia's life, as she was especially exposed, might have been expected to be especially susceptible. With the entire phrase cf. V. 5. 2 (Sel. 37) *decessit uetere testamento.*

nepotem: C. Vmmidius Quadratus, about whom nothing is known beyond what is stated in, or in the notes upon, this letter, except that he was consul suffectus in 118 A.D., and suffered under the displeasure of Hadrian (Spart. *Hadr.* 15. 7).

inter propinquos: *i.e.* as one would love a near relation.

3. maritus: Borghesi (*Oeuvres* VIII. 556) would read in Capit. *Vit. M. Ant.* 7. 4 *Vmmidio Quadrato* (instead of *Mummio Quadrato*), believing therefore that the grandson of Vmmidia married a sister of the emperor M. Aurelius.

si deus adnuisset: see I. 5. 5 (Sel. 4) n. *deos adfuisse*. The infant did not survive birth. The Vmmidius Quadratus mentioned (if Borghesi be right) in Cap. *M. Ant.* 7. 4 must have been the son of a later-born child.

contubernio: *i.e.* not merely in her house, but in her immediate companionship.

delicatae, *self-indulgent*: but the word here, as often elsewhere when used of persons, comes very near to the meaning of 'dissipated'; cf., however, II. 11. 25 (Sel. 17) *oues delicatissimae*; III. 7. 9 (Sel. 25) n. *delicato*.

4. habebat illa: private persons evidently might own companies of slave pantomimes, as of gladiators, and on occasion let them out for public shows in similar fashion. But for a woman to do this was surely to brave public sentiment. One of Vmmidia's pantomimes is probably commemorated in an inscription from Puteoli (*C.I.L.* X. 1946), *C. Vmmidius Actius Anicetus pantomimus.*

pantomimos: dancers, whose individual task it was, through movement and gesture, aided to some extent by song (solo and chorus), to depict the passions of different persons and characters, generally mythological, in various situations, often erotic. The first *pantomimi* of note were Bathyllus and Pylades in the time of Augustus. Such plays, or scenes, became extremely popular, and like the mimes (see v. 3. 2 n.,—Sel. 36), contributed much to the demoralization of the people. On the general subject see Friedländer *Sittengeschichte*[6] II. pp. 450 ff.

effusius quam conuenit: in the century before Pliny's time the Romans in general enjoyed the stage but despised the players, and often with too good reason. But players were making their way into society, especially that of the less strict. Cicero reproached Antony with his intimacy with *mimi* and *mimae* (*Phil.* II. 67). Tiberius tried to forbid social relations between actors and Romans of rank, and to confine scenic representations to the theatre alone (Tac. *Ann.* I. 77). But the evil tendency continued (Sen. *Q.N.* VII. 32. 3; *Ep.* 47. 17), and women were especially affected with the current mania (see Friedländer *Sittengesch.*[6] I. pp. 484 ff.).

principi feminae, *a woman of rank.*

5. ut feminam in illo otio sexus: *i.e.* being a woman, and having of course on account of her sex no occupation. The words are naturally those of Vmmidia and not of Pliny, whose idea of the duties of womanhood would be that of the traditional Roman matron who was *lanifica, pia, pudica, frugi, casta, domiseda* (Orelli *Inscr.* 4639).

laxare animum, *to amuse herself.*

lusu calculorum: two main forms of this engrossing board-game were known to the Romans, but had an origin in even pre-Homeric times. One (*ludus latrunculorum*) had a decided resemblance to chess, the other (*ludus duodecim scriptorum*) to backgammon. See further Marquardt *Privatleben*[2] pp. 854 ff.

6. sacerdotalibus ludis: *ludi* and *munera* are generally to be distinguished. The latter are gladiatorial combats; the former embrace circus-races, theatrical performances, and, especially in imperial times, various kinds of athletic contests (see IV. 22. 1,—Sel. 35,—n. *gymnicus agon*). These *ludi* were all of them either parts of the regular Roman *cultus*, celebrated on fixed days each year, or more specific festival observances in fulfilment of vows. The charge of the *ludi* was entrusted to various officials or boards of officials. The *pontifices*, for

example, presided over the Equirria and the Consualia, as especially *cultus*-festivals. Other colleges of priests presided over later established games, as the *fratres arvales* over the *ludi Capitolini*. In the conduct of some *ludi* the priestly colleges were united with the higher magistrates. On the whole subject see Friedländer in Marquardt *Staatsverw.* III.[2] pp. 482 ff. What especial *ludi* are here referred to by Pliny cannot be determined.

in commissione, *in competition*.

7. **hercule**: cf. I. 13. 3 (Sel. 9) n. *hercule*.

alienissimi, *of a very different kind*: *sc.* from Quadratus.

per adulationis officium: said in correction of *in honorem*.

exsultabant, *leaped to their feet*: cf. of such action in applause VI. 17. 2 *non labra diduxerunt, non moverunt manum, non denique adsurrexerunt*; IX. 23. 1 (Sel. 67) *omnes repente consurgerent laudarentque*; and on the uproarious character of such artificial applause, II. 14. 13 n. (Sel. 20).

singulos gestus dominae: Pliny affects to consider Vmmidia as simply the leader of the *claque* (cf. II. 14. 6,—Sel. 20,—*cum mesochorus dedit signum*), but her gestures were doubtless the natural ones of genuine admiration; cf. IX. 34. 2 *illo legente sedeam defixus, mutus, et similis otioso, an quae pronuntiabit murmure, oculis, manu prosequar*.

canticis, *shrieks*: *sc.* of delighted approval; cf. II. 14. 13 (Sel. 20).

theatralis operae: so the organized *claque* was called; cf. Tac. *Ann.* I. 16 *Percennius quidam, dux olim theatralium operarum*.

corollarium: these applauders were themselves but acting, and so Pliny contemptuously calls their pay by the word that designated the prize of a successful actor,—a wreath of bronze leaves silvered or gilded (cf. Pl. *N.H.* XXI. 5). But *corollarium* had also come to mean a gratuity (*Trinkgeld, pour boire, buona mano*), in which sense he may use it here of the *claqueurs*, as *sportula* in II. 14. 4 (Sel. 20) *q. v.*; cf. Varr. *L.L.* V. 178 *si quid datum pro opera aut opere, 'merces': 'corollarium,' si additum praeterquam quod debitum; eius vocabulum fictum a corollis quod eae, cum placuerant actores, in scena dari solitae*.

8. **haec**: *sc. scribebam*, or *scripsi*,—another of the hundred instances of Pliny's free ellipsis of verbs of whatever kind and in whatever form. Cf. here the old English ellipsis in addresses, 'To Mr. Ebenezer Woodruff, these.'

est ... ceperam: on the sequence see I. 2. 1 (Sel. 2) n. *promiseram exhibeo.*

C. Cassi: C. Cassius Longinus, a descendant of the murderer of Caesar, was consul in 30 A.D., governor of Asia in 40-41, of Syria in 45 and 49, banished by Nero in 65, but recalled by Vespasian, during whose reign he died, at a good old age. He enjoyed great reputation as a jurisconsult, composed a treatise on civil law, which served as a mine for later excerptors, and founded a school of legal interpretation, which was called by his name. His tendency, like that of Ateius Capito, was in the direction of great conservatism and regard for tradition. The opposing school, which took its name from Proculus, a following of Antistius Labeo, was much more liberal and progressive. From Cassius was descended Quadratus.

9. tantus orator: the promise of Quadratus as an orator is celebrated in VI. 11, where he is said to have made Pliny his praeceptor and model (cf. § 5 of this letter).

53. (VII. 26.)

Men are at their best when ill.—On Maximus see introd. note to II. 14 (Sel. 20).—In a number of letters Pliny comments on the virtues of endurance shown by individuals in illness: here he praises the moral aspect of invalids for the very insufficient and negative reason that they are free from the sway of the lower passions.

1. libido: apparently used in a general way, extending over ambition also, as the next sentence seems to indicate; though perhaps Pliny's thought is that *amores*, *honores*, and *opes* all together gratify either *libido* or *avaritia* or both. Yet Gierig thought (improbably) that *aut ambitio* must have slipped out of the text after *libido*.

2. deos meminit (*sc.* esse): see I. 5. 5 (Sel. 4) n. *mihi deos adfuisse.*

inuidet nemini, etc.: extremes often meet, and Pliny's doctrine here is approximately that of Epicurus, who held that happiness (the *summum bonum*) was secured only by the freedom of the soul from wrenching passions, and that therefore men should learn to live simply, as free as possible from all desires. In some degree this approximated to the teaching of the Stoics that man should eradicate all irrational impulses, and strive after ἀπάθεια. Hence Seneca, a Stoic in

philosophy, does not contemn the ethics of Epicurus, and Pliny's immediate teachers in philosophy probably occupied the same position.

ne sermonibus quidem malignis, etc. : cf. I. 9. 5 (Sel. 6). The construction is boldly double, both as dative and as ablative.

8. pinguem : see I. 3. 3 (Sel. 3) n. *alto pinguique secessu.*

innoxiam uitam : 'when the Devil was sick, the Devil a monk would be.'

54. (VII. 27.)

Ghost-stories.—Doubtless the Sura of this letter is the Licinius Sura to whose scientific wisdom Pliny refers (IV. 30) a question concerning the cause of an intermittent spring near Lake Como. L. Licinius Sura was a native of Spain, and is best known as the confidential friend and adviser of Trajan, whose adoption by Nerva was due to Sura's recommendation. He was consul before Trajan's accession, and twice under him (102 and 107 A.D.), and was highly honoured by him in numerous ways. As an active counsellor and assistant in both Dacian wars he won military decorations, and was apparently largely responsible for the success of the campaigns. Hadrian's high favour with Trajan was also due to Sura's influence. He built a bath near his home on the Aventine, which long survived. By the terms of his will an arch was erected in Tarraco (cf. *C.I.L.* II. 4282), and Trajan erected a statue to him after his death (cf. *C.I.L.* II. 4508; VI. 1444; Dessau 1022: Wilmanns 635).

1. igitur : cf. III. 1. 12 (Sel. 23) n. *igitur.*

an : cf. I. 18. 2 (Sel. 12) n. *an.*

inania, etc. : the Epicurean view; cf. Lucr. IV. 25 ff.; and the explanation by Cassius of the vision of Brutus before Philippi (Plut. *Brut.* 37).

2. Curtio Rufo : the story (with slight variations) is told of him also by Tacitus (*Ann.* XI. 21) in a footnote concerning his career appended to an amusing anecdote of his winning the *ornamenta triumphalia* in 47 A.D. by discovering a silver mine while serving as governor of Upper Germany. All our information about him comes from these passages in Tacitus and Pliny. He is perhaps not the Q. Curtius Rufus who wrote the History of Alexander the Great, nor yet the rhetorician mentioned by Suetonius (*Rell.* p. 128 Reiff.).

obtinenti Africam: *i.e.* the proconsular governor of the province. But Tacitus says (*l.c.*) Curtius was a subordinate of the quaestor.

Africam: since the year 37 A.D. the province (*Africa Proconsularis*) embraced the coast-land from Hippo Regius on the west to Cyrene on the east, while the interior, with the western part of the province as earlier constituted (Numidia), was under the military command of a propraetorian legate.

comes: the word denoting regularly a member of the governor's staff.

inclinato die: *i.e.* just after the sun had passed the meridian (cf. Tac. *l.c. dum in oppido Adrumeto uacuis per medium diei porticibus secretus agitat*); cf. v. 6. 31 *porticus ante medium diem hiberna, inclinato die aestiua.* It was the drowsy time of the siesta (see III. 5. 11 n.,—Sel. 24), when others had gone to sleep, and Curtius may have been nodding. Dion saw his fateful ghost under similar circumstances by daylight (Plut. *Dion* 55). and the vision of Eucrates was at midday (Lucian. *Philopseud.* 22), as were those of St. Paul (*Act. Apost.* 22. 6) and St. Peter (*ibid.* 10. 9). That of Cornelius was at the ninth hour (*ibid.* 10. 30).

porticu: see I. 3. 1 (Sel. 3) n. *porticus.*

humana grandior: so the gods always appear, and also the apparitions that have *numen aliquod*; cf. Dion's ghost (*l.c.*); the vision of Drusus cited below; the appearance of Romulus to Proclus (Plut. *Rom.* 28; Ou. *Fast.* II. 503); the vision of Eucrates in Lucian. *Philopseud.* 22 (*γυναῖκα ἡμισταδιαίον σχεδὸν τὸ ὕψος*).

Africam: *i.e.* the spirit-embodiment (*genius*) of Africa, as the woman that appeared to Drusus was of Germany; cf. Suet. *Claud.* 1 *species barbarae mulieris, humana amplior*, etc.; Dio Cass. LV. 1. 3 *γυνὴ γάρ τις μείζων ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἀπαντήσασα αὐτῷ ἔφη, κ.τ.λ.*

3. narratur: see III. 7. 1 (Sel. 25) n. *nuntiatus est.*

5. erat Athenis, etc.: a very similar story is given by Lucian (*Philopseud.* 29), with more artistic touches of verisimilitude, but in less dramatic form. Therein the Pythagorean Arignotus tells the tale of his own experiences in a haunted house at Corinth, which he locates precisely, and advises his hearers to visit. The ghost appears to the undauntedly studious philosopher, 'squalid, dishevelled, and blacker than Hades,' and tries to terrify him by changing into a dog, a bull, and finally a lion. Failing in this it retreats into a

certain corner of the house and vanishes. The philosopher next morning bids the owner of the house dig there. They find a skeleton. This they duly bury, and the ghost is laid.—The story of Lucian is doubtless from the same source as that of Pliny.

si attenderes: of a general past supposition, with the imperfect indicative in apodosis. This use begins with Catullus and Caesar, the regular classical construction requiring the imperfect or pluperfect indicative in protasis. Cf. also I. 16. 2 (Sel. 11) n. *proferret*.

idolon: Pliny uses in this letter a variety of words, both Greek and Latin, for these supernatural appearances,—*phantasma*, *figura*, *idolon*, *imago*, *monstrum*, *simulacrum*, *effigies*, *manes*. He does not use *spectrum*, which Cicero apparently jests at (in *Fam.* XV. 16) as a translation of εἴδωλον, nor yet *species*, nor *umbra*.

6. oculis inerrabat: cf. IX. 13. 25 (Sel. 64) *hanc imaginem oculis obversare*; *Pan.* 61 *adhuc oculis paulo ante dimissi fusces oberrabant*.

proscribebatur, *it was advertised*: sc. by a bill stuck up on it.

7. Athenodorus: two Stoic philosophers of this name are known. The one was from Tarsus, and was surnamed Cordylion. He came to Rome in 70 B.C., when already old, at the invitation of Cato, and lived with him from that time till his own death. The other was the son of Sandon, and himself came from the neighbourhood of Tarsus. He lived long in Rome as the teacher and friend of Augustus, but finally returned to his own country, where he died at the age of 82. The two men are sometimes confused. Which one is referred to by Pliny cannot be determined.

sterni (sc. *lectum*): cf. the use of *stratum* alone for 'bed' in poetry and post-Augustan prose.

prima domus parte: perhaps in the usual θάλαμος that opened on the court (πρόστας) that corresponded to the Roman *atrium*.

pugillares, stilum: see I. 6. 1 (Sel. 5) n. *stilus et pugillares*.

suos: see II. 17. 7 (Sel. 21) n. *meorum*.

interiora: in the Greek house the usual servants' apartments were in the rear part, beyond the μέταυλος.

inanes, etc.: cf. § 1.

8. silentium, etc.: the section furnishes another excellent example of Pliny's use of brief paratactic asyndeta in vivid

narration, here aided by ellipsis of the verb, and by change between the historical infinitive and the (historical) present indicative. Cf. also VI. 20. 14 (Sel. 46) n. *uix consideramus et.*

offirmare ... praetendere, *brace his attention, and through it close his ears*: **animum** is the direct object of **praetendere** as well as of **offirmare.** The figure is that of interposing a defence; cf. IV. 16. 3 *nec desidiae nostrae praetendamus alienam.*

ac iam ut, etc.: cf. the similar sequence in VII. 23. 1 *et domi et intra domum atque etiam intra cubiculi limen.*

9. similis uocanti: among both Greeks and Romans (as in modern Greece and Italy) the gesture was different from ours. The hand was outstretched, palm downward, with fingers hanging vertically (*κατασείω*), and the fingers were then repeatedly closed upward against the palm. Our gesture of summoning is theirs of salutation.

ut paulum exspectaret manu significat: hand outstretched and turned up from the wrist with palm outward, as if repelling.

10. aream domus: probably the inner court, or garden, reached through the *μέταυλος.*

11. publice sepeliuntur: *i.e.* given formal burial at public expense; cf. II. 1. 1 (Sel. 15) n. *publicum funus.*

domus, etc., *the house was not thereafter haunted by the ghost thus duly laid*: *condere* is strictly a ritual word as applied to burial; cf. Lucan. IX. 151 *inhumatos condere manes*; Orelli *Inscr.* 2482 FVLGVR · CONDITVM; DE · CAELO · TACTVM · ET · CONDITVM. The souls of the dead whose bodies were not buried with due rites not only were condemned to wander this side of the Styx in the lower world, but might return to upper earth and haunt and harm the living. This was especially the case with those who had met violent deaths. On the Roman belief in such *larvae* and *lemures* see Preller *Röm. Myth.* II.[3] p. 117 ff.

12. non illiteratus: *i.e.* intelligent, and not likely to report wrongly to Pliny the aspect of things at daybreak. Moreover, Pliny thinks there was something significant in the fact that one was taken and the other left.

is: *sc.* the younger brother.

uisus est sibi cernere: cf. the similar phrase (of a dream) in V. 5. 5 (Sel. 37).

13. puer: another boy, not the same.

paedagogio: the quarters of the slave-boys who were being trained up in the master's house [illegible].

[illegible] **plures** [illegible] from them. Perhaps [illegible] that there was a number of witnesses to the state of things next morning.

[illegible] *[illegible]* [illegible] 6 (Sel. 46) n. *adhuc ... dies*.

14. **nihil notabile secutum**: except doubtless that this [illegible] being a nine-days'-wonder. Pliny's [illegible] but he always takes very [illegible] and all things that touch his own dignity.

[illegible] = [illegible]: the future participle takes the place of the apodosis of the condition contrary to fact. The same construction occurs in [illegible] 13. 1; 21. 6 (Sel. 29); v. 21. [illegible]; *Pan.* 4. In *Pan.* 2 the future participle takes the place of an apodosis with the perfect subjunctive in protasis.

[illegible] see [illegible] (Sel. [illegible]) n. [illegible]. In the later [illegible] came to be the technical term for the imperial [illegible], the administration of which was organized in [illegible] with a considerable hierarchy of officials.

[illegible] Maximus [illegible], on whom see i. 5. 3 n. (Sel. 4).

libellus [illegible]: from this technical use comes the word [illegible] of a formal document of allegations, as used in admiralty, Scots, and English ecclesiastical law.

[illegible] cf. [illegible] 21. 3 (Sel. 29) n. *fuit moris*.

[illegible] *[illegible] grow*: as also to wear a [illegible] and [illegible] toga, and otherwise to indicate that grief and anxiety had made the mourner forget his [illegible].

meorum: see [illegible] 17. 7 (Sel. 21) n. *meorum*. It is difficult to see why the omen should have been sent to his slave rather than to himself, or, indeed, why the simplest interpretation was not that by contraries (see i. 18. 2—Sel. 12—n. *con-*[illegible]), the cutting of the hair indicating that the throat was not to be cut.

55. (VII. 28.)

[illegible] is no crime.—On Septicius see [illegible] 1. 1 (Sel. 1).—In vi. 17. 4 Pliny lays down the [illegible] as applied to writers,—*lauda* [illegible] *superiorem vel parem: superiorem, quia,* [illegible] *non potes ipse laudari; inferiorem aut*

parem, quia pertinet ad tuam gloriam quam maximum uideri quem praecedis uel exaequas. equidem omnes qui aliquid in studiis faciunt uenerari etiam mirarique soleo. est enim res difficilis, ardua, fastidiosa, et quae eos a quibus contemnitur in uicem contemnat.

1. reprehendisse, *find fault* (*me* omitted).

2. agnosco crimen, etc., *I acknowledge the fact as charged and glory in it.*

ut, *granted that.*

inuident: see I. 10. 12 (Sel. 7) n. *bonum.*

felicissimo errore, *my happy delusion.*

3. igitur: cf. III. 1. 2 (Sel. 23) n. *igitur.*

hanc sinistram diligentiam, *these perverse scruples.*

mihi nunquam persuadebunt, etc.: cf. VIII. 24. 10 (Sel. 60) *non uereor in amore ne modum excesserim.*

LIBER VIII.

56. (VIII. 4.)

The proposed epic of Caninius on the Dacian war.—On Caninius see introd. note to I. 3.

1. bellum Dacicum: Trajan's two campaigns in Dacia (101-102 and 105-106 A.D.) are usually spoken of by the Romans, in inscriptions and elsewhere, as a single war. Trajan wrote commentaries on these campaigns, as did Caesar on his, but his work, like that of Caninius (if, indeed, the latter was ever published) has disappeared. We are dependent for our knowledge of this highly important part of Roman history chiefly upon the meagre excerpts from Dio Cassius made by Xiphilinus (LXVIII. 6-14). A contemporary pictorial commentary on the war is preserved in the long series of spirally arranged reliefs on the Column of Trajan at Rome, to which may be added a few scattered reliefs,—especially on the Arch of Constantine at Rome and the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum.

tam fabulosa materia, *a subject so romantic.*

2. immissa terris noua flumina: doubtless with reference to the river Sargetia (mod. Schyul?), which the Dacian king temporarily turned from its course to bury his treasures in its

bed. The process was repeated by Trajan, who discovered the hoard (see Dio Cass. LXVIII. 14. 4, 5). But Pliny is not concerned with precise historical detail here, and his lordly plural suits the imperial grandeur of the theme.

nouos pontes fluminibus iniectos: here again Pliny probably does not refer to the temporary bridge over the Danube erected during the first campaign, nor to the possible bridging of minor streams, but to the great stone bridge (with wooden superstructure?) over the Danube at Drobetae (mod. Turnu Severin), a work of immense engineering skill, completed at the time of the second campaign (Dio Cass. LXVIII. 13).

regia, *his capital*, Sarmizegethusa (mod. Várhely or Gredistye) which fell into Trajan's hands at the end of the first campaign. In the second (106 A.D.) the Dacian king was forced to flee from it, and on being closely pursued and worsted in combat killed himself.

nihil desperantem: for to the Roman, as to the Stoic philosopher, suicide rather than submission was in the last event a counsel of fortitude, not of despair; cf. I. 12. 9 (Sel. 8) n. *perseuerantem*, etc.

super haec: see V. 5. 2 (Sel. 37) n. *super ista*.

actos bis triumphos: one at the end of each campaign. The second celebration lasted 123 days (Dio Cass. LXVIII. 10. 2; 15. 1).

nouissimus, *the final*: for he had made a tolerably clean sweep of the country, which he repeopled with colonists from many different places. Yet Hadrian feared so greatly possible incursions of the barbarians into Moesia that he removed the superstructure of the bridge (Dio Cass. LXVIII. 13. 6), though the province was not surrendered till Aurelian's time.

8. quanquam: cf. I. 12. 3 (Sel. 8) n. *quanquam*.

regis: Δεκέβαλος, which was probably, however, a title rather than a name. Having three short syllables consecutive before the ultima, it could not be fitted into dactylic hexameters.

Graecis uersibus: in a number of instances mentioned in Pliny's letters his friends composed in Greek rather than in Latin.

non resultent, *may not refuse to fit into*: the negative in this purpose-clause is *non* instead of *ne*, because it applies mainly to the single word *resultent*, as indeed its position indicates (*non resultent* = *accommodentur*).

4. si datur Homero, etc. : Pliny follows the prevalent view of his own and much later ages that the Homeric idiom is but an arbitrary distortion of classical Attic.

non delicata : *i.e.* not frivolous and wilful.

5. iure uatum inuocatis dis : *sc.* in the proeme, as epics traditionally open.

inter deos ipso, etc. : so Vergil invokes the living Augustus among the gods in *Geor.* I. 24 ff. ; Germanicus, Tiberius in *Arat. Phaen.* init. ; Valerius Flaccus, Vespasian in *Argon.* I. 7 ff. ; Statius, Domitian in *Theb.* I. 17 ff.

immitte rudentes, etc. : cf. Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 707 f. *ipsa uidebatur uentis regina uocatis | uela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funes ; ibid.* X. 229 *uigila et uelis immitte rudentes.*

7. carptim, *taken piece by piece* : adv. in place of substantive.

contexta, *woven into a whole.*

membra : cf. VII. 9. 6 (Sel. 49) n. *membra.*

extremam limam : see I. 2. 5 (Sel. 2) n. *limam.*

opperientur, etc. : *i.e.* Pliny would like a copy of the poem in its present fragmentary state, and promises not to let any one else see it, but to await the publication of the finished work.

scrinio : see V. 5. 5 (Sel. 37) n. *scrinium.*

super : cf. note on *super* in § 2.

8. in summa : see I. 12. 12 (Sel. 8) n. *in summa.*

57. (VIII. 8.)

The beauties of the Clitumnus.—On Romanus see introd. note to I. 5 (Sel. 4).—With this letter, which shows the purely objective, if not formal, character of Pliny's enjoyment of natural scenery, may be compared V. 6, IX. 7, and scattered allusions in other letters. On the general question of the ancient feeling for nature see Friedländer *Sittengesch.* II.[6] pp. 188 ff. On the sources of the Clitumnus see also Prof. Wilamowitz-Moellendoerff in *Reden u. Vorträge.*

1. uidistine : on the introduction of the subject of a letter with a question see I. 5. 1 (Sel. 4) n. *uidistine*, and the similarity of the opening of IV. 11 (Sel. 32).

aliquando : cf. in the opening question of VI. 13 *unquam* with *uidisti.*

Clitumnum fontem: Vibius Sequester, of the fourth century, in his dry enumeration entitled *De fluminibus fontibus lacubus nemoribus paludibus montibus gentibus,* mentions the Clitumnus as a spring as well as a river, but perhaps with no ultimate authority other than this passage. The river (now called the Clitunno) is a small stream of Umbria, flowing by Meuania (Bevagna) into the Tinia (Topino), an affluent of the Tiber. The hamlet at its source is even now called Le Vene (*i.e.* The Springs). The river was famous for its beauty before Pliny's time, and especially for the herds of large white cattle pastured on its banks, whence the finest sacrificial victims were sent to Rome: cf. Colum. III. 8 *armentis sublimibus insignis Meuania est;* Verg. *Geor.* II. 146 ff. *hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxima taurus | uictima, saepe tuo perfusi flumine sacro, | Romanos ad templa deum duxere triumphos*; Prop. III. 19. 25 f. *qua formosa tuo Clitumnus flumina luco | integit et niueos abluit unda boues*; Luc. I. 473; Stat. *Silu.* I. 4. 129; Sil. Ital. IV. 545 f., VI. 647 f., VIII. 450 f.; Iuu. 12, 13: Claud. 54. 3 f., *VI. Cons. Hon.* 506 ff.—Seruius (on Verg. *Geor. l.c.*) remarks, on the authority of Pliny's Nat. Hist., that animals drinking the water of the Clitumnus bring forth white progeny; but the same story is told of other streams,—*e.g.* of those of the region of Falerii; cf. Plin. *N.H.* II. 230 *in Falisco omnis aqua pota candidos boues facit* (this is perhaps the passage to which Servius refers). Addison in his *Remarks on Italy* notes that in his day the inhabitants of Le Vene had the same belief about the waters, and pointed to their mouse-coloured herds as evidence of its truth. Byron celebrated the stream in *Childe Harold* IV. 66-68.

uide, *go to see*: cf. I. 5. 8 (Sel. 4) n. *uideas.*

2. antiqua: the wood was sacred to the local god (see below), and hence no axe had touched it. The regard of the ancients for groves of old trees, and even for individual trees, as the especial shelter of divinity, is well known: cf. Preller *Röm. Myth.*[3] I. pp. 107 ff.; Friedländer *Sittengesch.*[6] II. pp. 191 f.

subter: infrequently postpositive; not found elsewhere in Pliny.

fons: not '*a* spring,' but the *fons Clitumnus* itself.

exprimitur: *i.e.* the water gushes out vigorously, as if impelled by some great pressure behind it.

pluribus uenis: there are now eight principal heads, which unite below in a broad, silent pool, bordered with rushes and poplars. In this pool are perhaps the main

springs, for the stream that issues from it is wide and tranquil, reflecting clearly the grassy banks and neighbouring willows, and showing now and then a white bed (so G. McN. Rushforth in *The Guardian* for Jan. 24, 1900, pp. 135 f.).

eluctatus, *bursting forth*: *sc.* from the ground.

gurgitem, *pool*: see the description by Mr. Rushforth cited above.

purus et uitreus, *clear and crystalline*: not an instance of pleonasm, for *uitreus* denotes not so much mere transparency as brilliance of reflection; cf. § 4 *perspicuus amnis*; Hor. *Carm.* III. 13. 1 *o fons Bandusiae, splendidior uitro*; *id.* IV. 2. 3 *uitreo daturus nomina ponto* (with reference to the sea sparkling far below him); Verg. *Aen.* VII. 759 *uitrea Fucinus unda.*

numerare calculos: cf. Mart. VIII. 68. 8 *calculus in nitida sic numeratur aqua.*

iactas stipes: the ancients were especially given to the worship of streams and springs (cf. Friedländer *Sitteng.*[6] II. p. 190), into which libations were poured (Hor. *Carm.* III. 13, *et al.*), and coins, and other votive offerings, thrown; see Preller *Röm. Myth.*[3] II. pp. 125 ff.; De Marchi *Il Culto Privato di Roma Antica* p. 295; Sen. *Ben.* VII. 4. 6 *et dis donum ponimus et stipem iecimus*; *N.Q.* IV. 2. 7 *in haec ora* [sc. at the supposed sources of the Nile] *stipem sacerdotes et aurea dona praefecti iaciunt*; Suet. *Aug.* 57 *omnes ordines in lacum Curti quotannis ex uoto pro salute eius stipem iaciebant.* A striking find of such votive offerings in a lake near the source of the Arno is described by G. Dennis in his *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* II.[3] pp. 108 ff., and one at the *Aquae Apollinares* near the Lago Bracciano by W. Henzen in *Rhein. Mus.* IX. pp. 20 ff. (see also Lanciani *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* pp. 46 f.). The Clitumnus is referred to as a sacred stream in the passages cited on § 1 *Clitumnum fontem*; cf. also the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* p. 288 (ed. Parthey).

3. non loci deuexitate, etc.: the slope of the plateau is made evident only by the swiftness of the river's flow. Cf. *e.g.* the Isar at Munich.

ipsa sui: for the more usual *sua ipsius.*

fons adhuc et iam amplissimum flumen, *one moment a rill, the next a mighty river.* With *adhuc . . . iam* of successive moments cf. VI. 16. 11 (Sel. 45) *iam . . . iam . . . iam.*

nauium patiens: cf. v. 6. 12 *nauium patiens*, of the Tiber in its upper course.

obuias (sc. *sibi*): *i.e.* bound upstream.

quoque, *even*: as not infrequently in writers of this period.

diuersa: *sc.* to those boats that merely float naturally upon the surface. *I.e.* the Clitumnus is no mere brook, down which, perhaps, a light skiff might just manage to float, but where it would surely ground if the boatman should try to force it against the current. It will allow boats to pass even up its course,—but with the difference mentioned immediately.

transmittit et perfert: with Pliny's frequent tendency to group words of substantially the same meaning; cf. Lagergren p. 48.

illa (sc. *uia*): an infrequent use, though occurring as far back as Plautus.

quanquam: see I. 12. 3 (Sel. 8) n. *quanquam*.

per solum planum: cf. *non loci deuexitate* above.

adiuuatur: by a transfer of application (here from the boat to the stream) not uncommon in Pliny; cf. § 4 *adnumerat* (by transfer from the observer to the stream).

4. per iocum ludumque, *for mere amusement*: cf. v. 13. 10 *per ludum ac iocum*. The words are commonly thus united from the time of the comedians downward.

fluitantibus, *sailing about.*

laborem otio, otium labore: with the chiastic repetition cf. *fraxino multa, multa populo* (immediately following); § 6 *publice praebent, praebent et hospitium*.

uiridi imagine adnumerat: *i.e.* the clear, smooth stream mirrors the trees so distinctly that they seem actually to be growing beneath the surface, and each 'green reflection' may be counted as readily as the tree itself. On the transfer of application in *adnumerat* see § 3 n. *adiuuetur*.

certauerit: the 'subjunctive of modest assertion,' often called the 'potential subjunctive'; cf. VII. 9. 3 (Sel. 49) *offuerit*.

nec color cedit: cf. similar comparisons of the purity of streams to that of snow in Sen. *Phaedra* 511 f. *fessus graui | labore niueo corpus Eliseo fouet*; Mart. VII. 32. 11 *niueas prope undas*.

5. templum: the little church of S. Salvatore now standing on the bank of the river, and some time fondly

supposed to be the temple mentioned here, was thought by De Rossi to be of Constantine's time (*Bullett. Archeol. Crist.* 1871, pp. 143 ff.). A later judgment (of H. Grisar) ascribes its erection to the time of classical imitation in the middle of the 12th century (*Nuovo Bullett. Archeol. Crist.* 1895, pp. 42, 127; cf. Fabriczy in *Cicerone* 1898, and Rushforth *l.c.*).

stat: the initial position of the word is significant, for the pose of the statue and its drapery are indicative of its rude antiquity. In the best days of art river-gods were generally represented nude, or nearly so, and in a reclining posture, holding a cornucopia, and resting one arm upon an urn, whence water was depicted as flowing; cf. the well-known Vatican statue of the Nile (Baumeister *Denkmäler* p. 1028), the Capitoline statue of the Tiber, and the relief of the Danube (?) on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum.

Clitumnus: Vibius Equester is sole authority for the statement that the deity was a Jupiter surnamed Clitumnus, and his statement is perhaps questionable; but cf. Preller *Röm. Myth.* I.[3] p. 57 init.

praetexta: the crimson-bordered toga was worn at Rome by the higher magistrates, and by the members of the higher priesthoods, especially when officiating at religious ceremonials (cf. Mommsen *Staatsr.* I.[3] pp. 418 ff.). It is said by Pliny (*N.H.* IX. 136) to have been adopted by Tullus Hostilius from the garb of the conquered Etruscan kings; and as crimson was also the colour peculiar to the garb of the *triumphator* (Mommsen *ibid.* p. 411), who appeared with pseudo-divine insignia, it is quite possible that its earlier use was appropriate to the gods, as here, in the case of this divinity on the borders of Etruria. The statue of the Clitumnus was very probably of wood, as very archaic statues were (cf. IX. 39. 4,—Sel. 71), and was either draped in an actual *praetexta* (cf. the peplon annually offered to the ξόανον of Athene on the Acropolis), or was carved and painted to represent one.

praesens: expressing the efficient activity of the deity, as explained in detail by *fatidicum*.

sortes: the method of foretelling the future by the drawing of lots seems to have been considered by the Romans as non-Italian in origin (cf. Val. Max. I. 3. 2), and to have fallen into disrepute by the time of Cicero (cf. *Diuin.* II. 85 ff.). But headquarters for such divination are mentioned as existing at Patauium (Suet. *Tib.* 14), Caere (Liu. XXI. 62. 5), Falerii (Liu. XXII. 1. 11), and especially at the temple of Fortuna in Praeneste (Cic. *l.c.*). The method of consultation was probably about the same at all places;—formulas of more

or less perspicuity were written in rude verse on sticks or plates of wood or metal; at the time of consultation these were mixed together, or shaken together in a containing vessel, and one was drawn out at random, or shaken out, which was understood to voice the answer of the divinity to the question propounded. Cf. Marquardt *Staatsverw.* III.[2] pp. 94 ff.; Lanciani in the *Atlantic Monthly* for *Mar.*, 1895; De-Marchi *Culto Privato* p. 240.

totidem dii: *i.e.* a number of statues of other deities, each within its own shrine.

sua cuique ueneratio: with the phrase cf. VIII. 20. 5 (Sel. 59) *sua cuique figura.*

transmittitur, *is spanned*: perhaps unique in this meaning (=*iungitur*), but it is impossible to suppose that *a uiatoribus*, or the like, is to be understood.

6. nauigare: on some sacred waters not even boating was allowed (cf. VIII. 20. 5,—Sel. 59), and Nero was believed to have incurred divine wrath by swimming in the basin at the source of the Aqua Marcia (Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 22 *fin.*).

Hispellates: Hispellum (now Spello), an Umbrian town, is about twelve miles distant from the source of the Clitumnus. A colony was planted there by Augustus, and called *Colonia Iulia* (cf. *Mon. Ancyr.* V. 36 ff. Mommsen; *id.* in Hermes XVIII. pp. 161 ff.) The gift of the land about the Clitumnus was probably made to the new colony on that occasion. In the time of Constantine the name of the colony was changed to *Flauia Constans* (Henzen 5580; Wilmanns 2843). The connection of Hispellum with the Clitumnus and its worship is shown in an inscription of 202 A.D. (Gudius 62. 7) CLITVMNO · SACRVM · L · MINVCIVS · L · F · SABINVS . . . PATRONVS · HISPELLATIVM . . . SACRIS · CLITVMNALIBVS · EPVLVM · DEDIT · COLLEGIO, etc.

diuus: see IV. 11. 14 (Sel. 32) n. *diui.*

dono dedit: a traditional formula, occurring often in inscriptions, and not unfrequently in literature.

publice, *as a corporation*: *sc.* instead of granting the franchise to some private firm. Cf. IV. 7. 2 (Sel. 31) n. *publice.*

praebent, praebent et: on the chiastic repetition see § 4, and I. 12. 12 (Sel. 8) n. *morte doleo, doleo autem.*

7. in summa: see I. 12. 12 (Sel. 8) n. *in summa.*

multa multorum: cf. IX. 13. 2 (Sel. 64) *multa scelera multorum* and *senatu senator senatori*: Lagergren pp. 36 f.

inscripta: not formal inscriptions (*tituli*), but *graffiti*, the curse of which beset the ancient as fully as it does the modern world. But Pliny is so much more an admirer of literary effort than of nature (cf. I. 6,—Sel. 5) that he feels no indignation over these misplaced effusions.

quanquam, *and yet* (= καίτοι): cf. III. 7. 12 (Sel. 25) n. *quanquam*.

quae tua humanitas, *such is your good nature*: this use of a parenthetical relative-sentence to express the cause of the state or action indicated by the main sentence (often in place of a construction with the ablative of quality followed by an *ut*-clause) is frequent in Cicero, but unusual in later writers.

58. (VIII. 16.)

Pliny's treatment of his slaves (cf. V. 19,—Sel. 40; VIII. 1).—The person addressed is probably identical with the 'Paternus' of IV. 14, and IX. 27, and with the 'Plinius Paternus' of I. 21; but whatever his name, he is otherwise unknown.

1. confecerunt: a 'gnomic aorist.'

meorum: cf. II. 17. 7 (Sel. 21) n. *meorum*; and on the fact, VIII. 19. 1 *meorum periculo, quorundam uero etiam morte turbatus*.

facilitas manumittendi: the path of the master who wished to liberate his slaves by his will was hedged in with legal restrictions, but he might liberate them as he chose during his lifetime; cf. Gaius I. 11-27, 38-47; *ibid.* 44 *ac nec ad eos quidem omnino haec lex pertinet qui sine testamento manumittunt. itaque licet iis qui uindicta aut censu aut inter amicos manumittunt totam familiam suam liberare*, etc.

quoque, *even*: cf. I. 10. 5 (Sel. 7) n. *quoque*.

quasi: for slaves had no right to hold or bequeath property as such (*res familiaris*), and their 'wills' were not properly *testamenta*. Even the *peculium* which they were allowed, and indeed encouraged, to acquire, belonged to them only by grace of the master; cf. Gaius I. 52 *quodcumque per seruum adquiritur, id domino adquiri*; *Dig.* XV. 1. 4 *peculii est non id cuius seruus seorsum a domino rationem habuerit, sed quod dominus ipse separauerit suam a serui rationem discernens: nam cum serui peculium totum adimere uel augere uel minuere dominus possit*, etc.

2. nam, etc.: the legal sanction of wills being a matter of Roman law, no foreigner (*peregrinus*) had the general right

[illegible] to make a will or to receive a legacy from a Roman [illegible] [illegible] *peregrini quidem ratione* [illegible] *legatisque*; Ulpian XXII. [illegible] *factio non est*; et al.

3. [illegible] applied to a loss of money, [illegible] Sel. [illegible] n. *si iactura*, etc.

[illegible] signification here; see I. 15. 3 [illegible]

5. **animi** [illegible]: cf. Ov. *Trist.* IV. 3. 37 f. *est quaedam* [illegible] *expleturque dolor*; Sen. *Ep.* [illegible] [i.e. at the thought of deceased friends] [illegible]

58. (VIII. 20.)

The floating islands of the Vadimonian lake.—On Gallus [illegible].—With this description of a curiosity [illegible] IV. 30, on an intermittent brook [illegible].

1. **natura comparatum**, etc.: cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 20 ff. [illegible]; [illegible] 15 [illegible] *omnes praesentia*. Cf. also I. 16. 8 (Sel. 11) n. *neque enim*, etc.; and with the phrase *ita natura comparatum ut*, II. 19. 5 *ita natura comparatum est ut*: II. 4. 6 *est enim ita comparatum ut*; V. 19. 5 (Sel. 47) [illegible] *ita natura comparatum ut*: *Pan.* 46 *cum ita* [illegible] *ut*: 45 *non tam* [illegible] *constitutum est ut*.

2. **de causa**: cf. I. 2. 6 (Sel. 2) n. *ex causis*.

non modo: for *non modo non*, as not infrequently in all periods when preceding *sed ne quidem* with a common predicate standing in the second member only: cf. VIII. 7. 2 *qui non modo magister tuus, sed ne discipulus quidem debeam dici*; Krebs-Schmalz *Antibarbarus*,[6] II. p. 145.

Achaia: i.e. Greece proper,—the name given to the Roman province, which embraced at this time Peloponnesus and the mainland as far north as Thessaly and Epirus. Yet considerable cities and districts in this region were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman governor; see VIII. 24. 2 (Sel. 60) n. *liberarum ciuitatum*.

audita, perlecta, lustrata haberemus: *habere* is used with the perfect passive participle to express more absolutely the completeness and enduring effects of the action than would the corresponding form of the verb to which the participle

belongs; cf. *e.g.* Cic. *ad Brut.* I. 1. 1 *Clodii animum perspectum habeo, cognitum, indicatum*; and see on the general subject of this construction Ph. Thielmann in *Archiv für lat. Lexicog. u. Gram.* II. 372 ff., 509 ff.; III. 532 ff.

3. prosocer: Calpurnius Fabatus, on whom see IV. 19. 1 (Sel. 34) n. *auo.*

Amerina: Ameria (mod. Amelia) was a town of south-western Umbria, whose territory touched the left bank of the Tiber above the town of Horta (mod. Orte).

lacus nomine Vadimonis: renowned as the scene of the great victories of the Romans over the Etruscans in 309 and 283 B.C. The lake is commonly identified with the (now much shrunken) *laghetto di Bassano* on the Etruscan side of the Tiber just above Orte. It is mentioned among others that have floating islands by Seneca (*N.Q.* III. 25. 8) and the elder Pliny (*N.H.* II. 209).

4. color, etc.: the waters of the lake were evidently charged with sulphur, like the waters that flow into the Anio from the sulphur springs of Bagni. The colour was therefore not the ordinary blue of clear lakes reflecting the sky, but rather a (somewhat opaque) bluish white (**caerulo albidior**) tending toward green (**uiridior**), and duller (**pressior**) than sky-blue. With **pressior** in this sense cf. Serv. on Verg. *Geor.* III. 82; Pallad. IV. 13. 3. But Pliny may use it to denote the relative opacity of sulphur-water.

sapor medicatus, *a flavour of drugs.*

uis qua fracta solidantur, *the power of cementing broken articles*: the water, as it evaporated, depositing a crust of sulphureous or calcareous character,—to which also the formation of the framework of the islands might be assigned, as Seneca (*l.c.*) perceived. Juvenal (5. 48) speaks of sulphur as used for mending glass (see for further references Mayor's note on the passage).

5. sacer enim: see VIII. 8. 6 (Sel. 57) n. *nauigare.*

palus: *i.e.* the marshy ground surrounding the lake proper. It is distinguished by **alia** because *palus* itself often denotes an actual lake.

sua cuique figura: with the phrase cf. VIII. 8. 5 (Sel. 57) *sua cuique ueneratio.*

humili radice, *a shallow substructure*: and therefore they weigh but little: with this use of the adjective cf. Verg. *Aen.* VII. 157; Tac. *Ann.* I. 61 *humili fossa.*

6. haec ... perspicitur: said apparently to show that there can be no mistake about the fact.

suspensa pariter et mersa, *precisely as much above as under water.*

continenti, *an unbroken surface.*

7. cursum certamenque: apparently a case of hendiadys, a very unusual figure in Pliny; cf. IX. 33. 9 (Sel. 69) *nouitatem odoremque*; I. 10. 12 (Sel. 7) n. *censum uoluptatemque*.

promouent terram, etc., *extend the shore, and now in this place, now in that, restore and steal away the lake*: the figure (of a theft), as often in Pliny's descriptions of natural scenery, is not particularly happy, and is made less so by the inversion in order of the verbs. The islands 'steal away' the lake by covering it from view where they touch the shore; they 'restore' their plunder by floating to another part.

8. quasi illata et imposita: *i.e.* as if they had been put aboard a boat for shipment.

9. specu mergitur, etc.: the elder Pliny (*N.H.* III. 117) mentions the Po as running underground for a space in its upper course; Curtius Rufus (VI. 4. 5 ff.) describes the Ziobetis as a similar stream, and mentions expressly the fact that objects launched upon it above were carried safely through its subterranean channel; Seneca (*N.Q.* III. 3 ff.) mentions other instances, and attempts an explanation.

10. nihil aeque ac: cf. the same phrase in V. 8. 2; VIII. 5. 3; also *nihil aeque . . . ut* in I. 20. 1 (Sel. 13; cf. note thereupon); *nihil . . . aeque . . . quam* in II. 15. 1; *aeque . . . quam* in III. 4. 9; and *nihil aeque . . . quam* in V. 19. 5 (Sel. 40).

delectant: by an unusual 'attraction' to the number of *opera*: cf. such constructions as VIII. 18. 10 *sunt omnes fabulae Tullus*.

60. (VIII. 24.)

The principles that should govern a Commissioner to Greece.—On Maximus see introd. note to II. 14 (Sel. 20).—With this letter may be compared in general the much longer one of M. Cicero to his brother Quintus, when the latter was proconsul of Asia (*Qu. Fr.* I. 1); and with the comments on the past glories of Greece, Cic. *Flac.* 62 f.; Byron, *Childe Harold* II. 73 ff.

2. prouinciam Achaiam: see VIII. 20. 2 (Sel. 59) n. *Achaia*.

ueram et meram Graeciam: as distinguished from the northern districts of Epirus, Macedonia, etc.

humanitas: with the prevailing idea of both Greeks and Romans that nothing was owed to more eastern civilization, not even the alphabet and a knowledge of farming.

litterae: probably referring to 'the alphabet,' rather than to 'literature.' One form of the story ascribed the invention of an alphabet of 16 or 17 letters to the Homeric Palamedes (cf. Eurip. *Palam.* fr. 582, *et al.*), though other writers recognized its Phoenician, or ultimately Egyptian, origin (Herod. v. 58; Tac. *Ann.* XI. 14).

fruges, *agriculture*: the general Greek tradition was that Demeter gave the first seed-corn to her favourite Triptolemus, and taught him how to use it, and thus the knowledge of agriculture spread from Eleusis as a centre. Local myths differed. In Argos Pelasgus was held to be the inventor, in Arcadia Aristaeus, in Athens (occasionally) Athena. The Italian myth ascribed the invention to Saturn.

creduntur: with the personal construction cf. III. 7. 1 (Sel. 25) n. *nuntiatus est*.

missum, etc.: the phrase is apparently technical; cf. § 7, and *e.g.* Wilm. *Inscr.* 1124 PRO · COS · ITERVM · EXTRA · SORTEM · AVCTORITATE · AVG · CAESARIS · ET · S · C · MISSO · AD · COMPONENDVM · STATVM · IN · RELIQVVM · PROVINCIAR · CYPRI. Southern Greece had been a province since 146 B.C., being united at first with Macedonia. It was erected into a separate province under the name of Achaia in 27 A.D., and assigned to the senatorial class, being governed by an ex-praetor with the title of proconsul. But at times of special difficulty it, like other senatorial provinces in similar emergency, was temporarily taken over by the emperor, and placed under the authority of one of his personal deputies (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*; cf. the circumstances of Pliny's appointment as governor of Bithynia,—Introd. p. xxvii.). This was probably the case at the time of the appointment of Maximus (cf. § 8 *legatio*). It is possible, however, that in Maximus we have the first of the special commissioners called *correctores* who were appointed by the emperor from the second century on to supervise the affairs of the 'free' cities of Achaia, and exercised an independent authority in this respect beside the regular *proconsules* (cf. Mommsen *Provinzen* p. 256; Marquardt *Staatsverw.* I.² p. 228 n. 1).

liberarum ciuitatum: a general term including the two classes of *ciuitates foederatae* and *ciuitates sine foedere immunes et liberae*. Of both classes the essential sovereignty was theoretically recognized by Rome, but on different principles. The liberty of the former class rested on a treaty, as between

equals, which was not abrogated by Rome unless as the result of war: that of the latter class was a free gift from the victorious nation, under a constitution imposed by her, and existed only at her pleasure. But in the case of either class Rome still claimed a protectorate, with the right to intervene in case of disturbance or maladministration, as doubtless in the present instance. Athens and its territory (including some of the islands), and Sparta with its, were *ciuitates foederatae*; and a number of others, like Delphi, Thespiae, Tanagra, Patrae, enjoyed the lesser freedom. Cf. Marquardt *Staatsverw.* I.[2] pp. 71 ff., 321 ff.; Mommsen *Provinzen* pp. 237 ff.

maxime homines: on the construction see I. 2. 5 (Sel. 2) n. *fortasse*.

a natura datum: the philosophical position regarding the right to liberty had undergone a change since the time of Aristotle, who treated slavery as a natural condition (*Polit.* I. 2; *Eth. Nic.* VIII. 13). The Stoics taught a better doctrine (cf. *e.g.* Sen. *Ep.* 47), and though Gaius still held apparently the older theory (I: 52 *in potestate itaque sunt serui dominorum, quae quidem potestas iuris gentium est*), the later jurists considered all men to be by nature free and equal; cf. Florentinus in *Dig.* I. 5. 4 *seruitus est constitutio iuris gentium, qua quis dominio alieno contra naturam subicitur*; Ulpian in *Dig.* I. 1. 4 *utpote cum iure naturali omnes liberi nascerentur*; id. *Dig.* L. 17. 32 *quod attinet ad ius ciuile, serui pro nullis habentur; non tamen et iure naturali, quia, quod ad ius naturale attinet, omnes homines aequales sunt.* Cf. also the Declaration of Independence of 1776, preamble.

8. conditores deos: other Greek cities than Athens boasted divine founders.

numina deorum: probably with reference in general to the 'divine influences' which, according to the richness of tradition, had presided over the destinies of Greece in the ancient days. If the true reading is *nomina deorum*, the reference must be to the many monuments, including even cities, that bore the names of the gods, and recalled the reverence of the past.

sacra: the adjective that came to be applied so often to *urbs Roma*, as did also *uenerabilis*; see F. G. Moore *Vrbs Aeterna and Vrbs Sacra* in *Trans. Amer. Philol. Ass.* XXV. pp. 34 ff.

sit apud te honor antiquitati: cf. Byron *Childe Harold* II. 93 *revere the remnants nations once revered.*

4. quae nobis miserit iura: according to tradition, in 453-452 B.C., when, in preparation for the decemviral codification, a commission of three was sent to Greece to study its legal codes (Liu. III. 31).

6. an: cf. I. 10. 9 (Sel. 7) n. *an.*

imperium: the sovereignty of the state as vested in its highest officials, or through them in their representatives. Maximus held the *imperium* as the representative of the emperor; cf. VI. 16. 4 (Sel. 45) n. *imperio.*

fasces: bundles of rods, each bundle with an ornamental axe-blade (*securis*) projecting from it, carried by *lictors* before certain Roman magistrates and occasionally (though doubtless always without the axe) before other privileged citizens. The axe-blade was removed in the city of Rome, and the *fasces*, according to proper courtesy, would not be displayed in an allied or free city. Maximus probably had the right to accompaniment by five lictors with *fasces*; see Mommsen *Staatsr.* I.[3] p. 385.

se ipse contemnit: cf. IV. 25. 4 *neminem ueretur, se contemnit.*

longe ualentior amor, etc.: cf. *Pan.* 49 *quanto nunc tutior, quanto securior eadem domus, postquam non crudelitatis sed amoris excubiis defenditur!* and the discussion in Cic. *Off.* II. 23 ff.

timor abit, etc.: cf. Tac. *Agr.* 32 *metus ac terror sunt infirma uincla caritatis; quae ubi remoueris, qui timere desierint odisse incipient.*

si recedas: an example of the use of the indefinite second person singular of the present (and sometimes of the perfect) subjunctive in conditional and temporal clauses to express an oft-repeated action, or one occurring at no definite time. Cf. the imperfect subjunctive in a similar meaning, but of past time, in I. 16. 2 (Sel. 11) n. *proferret.*

ille in odium uertitur: cf. Enn. ap. Cic. *l.c.*, *quem metuunt, oderunt.*

8. certamen est tecum: cf. Cic. *Fam.* II. 4. 2 (to a man from whom much is hoped) *est enim tibi grauis aduersaria constituta et parata, incredibilis quaedam expectatio.*

onerat te fama: cf. *Pan.* 73 *onerasti futuros principes*; Ou. *Her.* 16. 167 *fama quoque est oneri*; Cic. *Off.* III. 6 *suscepisti onus praeterea graue et Athenarum et Cratippi.*

9. sorte: the governors of the senatorial provinces were chosen by lot from the qualified senators (cf. II. 12. 2,—Sel.

15.—n. *in sortitione provinciae*). and therefore might have little adaptation to the post. Of the specially qualified governors sent exceptionally to senatorial provinces by appointment of the emperor inscriptions sometimes state specifically that they were not appointed by lot; cf. *e.g.* the inscription quoted in § 2 n. *missum*.

alioqui. *in general*.

multo deformius, etc.: cf. Sall. *Iug.* 31. 17 *quo maius de homine est parta amittere quam omnino non parauisse*.

10. quanquam: cf. III. 7. 12 (Sel. 25) n. *quanquam*.

non uereor, etc.: cf. VII. 28. 3 *mihi nunquam persuadebunt ut meos amari a me nimium putem*.

LIBER IX.

61. (IX. 6.)

THE insanity of circus-races.—On Caluisius see introd. note to II. 20 (Sel. 22).—With this letter may be compared that of Cicero to M. Marius on the occasion of Pompey's great games at the opening of his new theatre in 55 B.C. (*Fam.* VII. 1).

1. pugillares: see 1. 6. 1 (Sel. 5) n. *pugillares*.

iucundissima quiete: cf. Sen. *Ep.* 80. 1 *hodierno die non tantum meo beneficio mihi uaco, sed spectaculi, quod omnes molestos ad sphaeromachian auocauit*, etc.

Circenses (sc. *ludi*, as regularly): chiefly chariot-races, the main place for which was the great Circus Maximus, in the valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills, though races were run also in other places. The Romans developed the wildest admiration for the sport, which zeal led them into all sorts of foolish and riotous extravagances, which form the theme alike of the satirist. the moralist, and the historian. The demand of the common people for just two things, *panem et circenses*, is proverbial. For details see notes below, and especially art. *Circus* in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclop.*[2] III. coll. 2571 ff.; Marquardt *Staatsverw.*[2] III. pp. 504 ff.; Friedländer *Sittengesch.*[6] II. pp. 322 ff.

2. tot milia uirorum: the Circus Maximus seems to have been filled without difficulty on the occasion of great races, and its size was enormous. Dionysius says it held 150,000 spectators (III. 68); Pliny gives the number (after

the enlargement by Nero referred to in *N.H.* VIII. 21) as 250,000 (*N.H.* XXXVI. 102); the *Notitia* of Constantine's time raises it to 385,000 (in some MSS. to 485,000)! All these numbers are probably (from various causes) too great. In the time of Augustus the Circus could not have held over 60,000 people, and the successive enlargements up to Constantine's time could not have raised its capacity above 180,000 or 190,000. In the *Notitia* (and perhaps in Pliny) the higher figures are due to a confusion of the total linear feet of benches with the actual seating capacity (see Huelsen in Pauly-Wissowa *l.c.*, and *Bull. Com. di Roma* 1894, pp. 321 ff.).

insistentes curribus homines: the ordinary race was between four chariots at a time, each drawn by four horses guided by a single driver (*auriga* or *agitator*). Less frequently two horses were used, and exceptionally other numbers. The driver's tunic and cap (and also the chariot?) were of the colour of his *factio* (see note below on *panno*). The course was one of seven laps around the long backbone (*spina*) that occupied the middle line of the arena, and terminated at either end in triple pillars (*metae*).

nunc, *the fact is.*

panno: the officials, or other persons, at whose expense the races were held, ordinarily hired the necessary outfit from rival companies (*factiones*) organized for the business. Each company's outfit was distinguished by its own colour. Two such companies, the Red and the White (*factio russata, albata*) are mentioned in the late days of the republic. In the early years of the empire two others, the Green and the Blue (*factio prasina, veneta*) were introduced, and attained superlative popularity, so that after some time the earlier two were glad to ally themselves with their rivals, the White with the Green, the Red with the Blue. The people, from the emperor down, supported with wildest delirium one or the other of these *factiones*, and the uncontrollable excitement at a great race could not be surpassed by that at a great university football game of the present day in the United States.

si ... transferatur ... transibit: the construction occurs in all periods of the literature, the change to the indicative in the apodosis emphasising the especial surety of the conclusion.

clamitant nomina: cf. especially Dio Cass. LXXIII. 4. Favourite jockeys were then (as sometimes now) the recipients of much social attention and of great rewards. The names of a number of popular drivers and horses have come down to us,—including that of the horse Incitatus, whom

[illegible] and intended to make [illegible].

2. [illegible] which was of the colour [illegible].

[illegible] of the well-[illegible] : cf. Hor. Carm. III. [illegible] : and the Pharisaic [illegible] (St. John 7. 49).

[illegible] Cicero's opinion (quoted by [illegible]) in Off. II. 57 [illegible] liberis [illegible] iudicio certo [illegible].

[illegible] : cf. [illegible] 1. 2, and VIII. 14. 10 sic [illegible].

4. [illegible] in Cic. Arch. 13 [illegible] celebrandos [illegible] ad haec studia re-[illegible].

[illegible] : with Pliny's favourite oxy-[illegible] 1. 9. 8 (Sel. 6) [illegible] otiosum esse, [illegible].

62. (IX. 10.)

[illegible] Tacitus see introd. note to [illegible] (Sel. 5) — The parallelism of this letter with I. 6 (Sel. 5) [illegible] an answer by Tacitus to Pliny's letter just mentioned. Against this conjecture are the facts that the MSS. assign the letter in the address to Pliny ; that nowhere else in Books I–IX. is a letter from any other person than Pliny included ; that Book IX. is too late in general date to contain an answer to a letter in Book I. ; and that the style of the letter, and its data, are distinctly Plinian. Yet the correspondence to that in I. 6. 3 of the reference to Minerva and Diana together (§ 1), and to that in I. 6. 2 of the remark that the woods furnish an especial stimulus to poetical composition (§ 2) is very striking, and can be explained only by supposing that Tacitus had forgotten in the lapse of years that the sentiments were originally Pliny's own, and Pliny perhaps had forgotten also his much earlier publication of I. 6.

1. **Mineruae et Dianae conuenire non possit,** *it is not possible to meet Diana in Minerva's company.*

2. delicate, *lazily*.

ut in secessu et aestate: Pliny was evidently at his Umbrian country-seat; cf. IX. 36. 1, 6 (Sel. 70) nn.

in uia, *while on the journey hither*.

leuiora: the elder Pliny had made journeys the time for most serious and continuous work; cf. III. 5. 15 (Sel. 24).

quae tu, etc.: cf. the words of Tacitus in *Dial.* 9 fin. *adice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere uelint, relinquenda conuersatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia, utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est.*

3. unam, alteram, *one or two*: asyndetic for *unam aut* (or *et*) *alteram*.

63. (IX. 11.)

Pliny is read even in France.—On Geminus see introd. note to VII. 24 (Sel. 52). Of the six letters addressed to Geminus (if, indeed, all are addressed to the same person) this is evidently the earliest in date, though others are placed in the seventh and eighth books. The indication is, then, either that this Geminus is not the Geminus of the other letters, or that at least Books VII.-IX. were made up without detailed attention to chronological order, and were published together (see Introd. p. xl.).

1. aliquid ad te scribi, *some letter to be addressed to you*.

libris: probably the books of Pliny's own correspondence which might be published later,—apparently Books VII.-IX. Geminus wishes the compliment of having his name appear as a correspondent of the great Pliny in the books which would be read by his own townspeople of Lyons. Cf. a somewhat similar desire of delegated fame in Pliny's letter to Tacitus, VII. 33. 1, *auguror, nec me fallit augurium, historias tuas immortales futuras; quo magis illis (ingenue fatebor) inseri cupio*, etc.

2. bibliopolas Lugduni non putabam: it is difficult to see why Pliny thought so, for Lyons had been the chief city of Gallia Comata ever since the time of Augustus, and had a large population, and magnificent public buildings and other works of utility and luxury. Cf. also I. 2. 6 (Sel. 2) n. *bibliopolae*.

satis absolutum (sc. *id esse*), *a perfectly finished work*: cf. V. 3. 7 (Sel. 36) *satis absolutum*; V. 10. 3 *perfectum opus absolutumque est, nec iam splendescit lima sed atteritur*: et al.

64. (IX. 13.)

Pliny's attack upon Publicius Certus.—On C. Vmmidius Quadratus, the grandson and heir of Vmmidia Quadratilla, see VII. 24 and the notes thereupon.

1. libros: as with his speech of thanks to Trajan on entering upon his consulship (the so-called Panegyric; see III. 18), and doubtless on many other occasions, so here Pliny wrote out with amplifications and improvements his speech against Publicius Certus, enlarging it to fill more than one 'book.' Pliny mentions the work in IV. 21. 3, and in VII. 30. 4, where he says that he followed as a model Demosthenes *κατὰ Μειδίου*.

Heluidi: see III. 11. 3 (Sel. 26) n. *Heluidio*.

per aetatem: the office of quaestor, which could be held at the age of 25 years, admitted the holder to membership in the senate. The affair under discussion occurred in 97 A.D. (see § 5 n.). The age of Quadratus is unknown, but it may be reasonably conjectured from VII. 24. 3 that in 97 A.D. he was not far from 16 years of age. On this calculation he would have been consul at the age of about 37, the earliest legal age for that office being 33.

2. occiso: on Sept. 18, 96 A.D. (cf. Suet. *Dom.* 17).

se proferendi: quite as in the Ciceronian times, when a young man tried to get a start in public life by prosecuting some public official; cf. Cic. *Off.* II. 48 ff., where the possibilities and proper limitations of such a course are laid down; and VI. 29, where Pliny speaks of his own great cases, and of his principles regarding such matters, saying especially (§ 3) *aequum est enim agere non nunquam gloriae et famae, id est suam causam.*

multa scelera multorum: cf. with the phraseology VIII. 8. 7 (Sel. 57) n. *multa multorum*.

senatu senator senatori: a most striking instance of identical assonance, and the only triple example in Pliny; cf. *multa multorum* above, and Lagergren pp. 36, 37.

manus intulisset: the event is referred to in Tac. *Agr.* 45 *mox nostrae duxere Heluidium in carcerem manus* (and see VII. 19. 6,—Sel. 50,—n. *ex necessitate*, etc.).

fuerat mihi cum Heluidio amicitia: cf. IV. 21. 3 *nam patrem* [*Heluidiarum*] *defunctum quoque perseverantissime diligo, ut actione mea librisque testatum est.*

3. Arria et Fannia: cf. III. 11. 3 (Sel. 26) n.

exempli ratio: one of the three recommendations of a case to Thrasea Paetus also; cf. VI. 29. 1 *suscipiendas esse causas aut amicorum aut destitutas aut ad exemplum pertinentes.*

4. redditae libertatis: *i.e.* of Nerva's reign; cf. Tac. *Agr.* 3 *primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerua Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem*; *C.I.L.* VI. 472 (Dessau 274) LIBERTATI · AB · IMP · NERVA · CA[*es*]AR[*e*] · AVG · ANNO · AB · VRBE · CONDITA · DCCCXXXXIIX · XIIII · [*k*] · OC[*t*] · RESTITVTAE · S · P · Q · R.

postulauerat, *had prosecuted*; cf. Dio Cass. LXVIII. 1. 2 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν συκοφαντησάντων θάνατον κατεδικάσθησαν (cf. also II. 11. 3,—Sel. 17,—n. *Fronto Catius*).

uxore: *sc.* Pliny's second wife, whose name is unknown, though Pliny mentions her stepfather (see § 13). Pompeia Celerina (see VI. 10. 1,—Sel. 44,—n. *socrus meae*) may have been her mother, or perhaps instead the mother of Pliny's first wife. On Pliny's marriages see X. 2. 2 (Sel. 74) n. *duobus matrimoniis.*

Anteiam: mentioned only in this place. She had contracted a second marriage (see § 16).

5. ab exsilio redierant: Nerva recalled the political exiles of Domitian's reign (cf. Dio Cass. LXVIII. 1. 2 ὁ Νέρουας τοὺς φεύγοντας κατήγαγε), presumably soon after his own accession; but Mauricus, another recalled exile, had not reached Rome by Jan. 1, 97 A.D. (see introd. note to I. 5,—Sel. 4). Some few months must be allowed, furthermore, for the events mentioned in § 4. Pliny's attack upon Publicius, accordingly, was later than Jan. 1, 97, and could not, moreover, have fallen even within the first consular *nundinum* of that year; for Nerva himself and Verginius Rufus were consuls then, and Verginius was disabled at home by his accident (see II. 1. 5,—Sel. 15), and unable to preside in the senate, and it is evident that the emperor himself was not presiding (see § 9). Nor could it have been the *nundinum* late in the year, when Tacitus was consul (perhaps with Domitius Apollinaris as his colleague; see § 13 and II. 1. 6,—Sel. 15,—n. *Cornelio Tacito*); for some reference to that fact would be likely to come in, considering the intimate relations between Pliny and Tacitus. Furthermore, the *nundinum* of the consuls was somewhat advanced, so that Pliny could speak of the established custom of their administration (see § 9). On the whole the date seems to have fallen within the second *nundinum* of the year 97 A.D., and fairly well along in that *nundinum*,—perhaps as late as the month of June or July. (See also § 10 n. *notabilem*, etc.)

adscribi facto: *i.e.* to unite formally in bringing the charge against Publicius. Though ordinarily excluded from public functions, women were allowed to lodge formal accusations in certain matters intimately concerning themselves or their near-of-kin; see Mommsen *Strafrecht* p. 369.

societatem inuideam: see L. 10. 12 (Sel. 7) n. *bonum*.

6. senatus (sc. *erat*), *a session of the senate*: cf. II. 11. 10 (Sel. 17) n. *senatum*.

intra diem tertium, *the next day but one*; cf. VI. 16. 20 (Sel. 45) n. *tertius*.

Corellium: see L. 12. 1 (Sel. 8) n. *Corellius Rufus*.

non sustinui, etc., *I could not bring myself to refrain from telling him on the day of the event that I purposed doing the thing I did not take advice upon, having ascertained by experience that it is well not to consult on a predetermined matter those whose advice, if it be requested, you are bound to follow*. With the phrase *non sustinui* followed by a present infinitive cf. § 16 *non sustinere deserere*.

7. ius dicendi peto: the senate was still theoretically a purely consultative body, and no senator had a right to speak unless at the request of the presiding officer. The common procedure was for the presiding magistrate to lay any subject at his discretion before the senate in a statement of his own (*referre ad senatum*), and then to call upon the senators in formal order to express their opinions upon it (*censere, sententiam dicere*), precisely as in the republican period. But, now as then, an individual senator might be called upon, or permitted, to make a preliminary statement (*uerba facere*) in place of the president for the information of the senate. This privilege Pliny asked of the consul in order to 'bring in a private bill.' Cf. Mommsen *Staatsrecht* III. pp. 948 n. 4; 957 ff.

extra ordinem: *i.e.* by special privilege, out of the regular order in which Pliny would normally be asked his opinion by the presiding consul: cf. § 9 n. *sententiae loco*. The phrase implies some jealousy of the special favour shown Pliny by the consul, rather than a challenge of his parliamentary action.

ante relationem reus: the speaker implies that Pliny is going beyond his parliamentary rights, and instead of confining himself to a brief statement of facts on which the senate was to be consulted, is proceeding with a formal arraignment; whereas the putative offender is so far from actually being on trial that the consul has not yet even asked

the senate formally to advise him on the question of indictment.

qui supersumus: there was undoubtedly a strong popular feeling in favour of forgetting the past, and to this Nerva yielded: cf. § 22 n. *relationem . . . non remisit.*

9. consul: the presiding consul certainly was not Tacitus (cf. § 5 n. *ab exsilio redierant*, for Pliny would have made some mention of that fact, and probably would not have been checked by him. The consuls of the second *nundinum* of 97 are unknown (see § 5 n.).

Secunde: see I. 5. 5 (Sel. 4) n. *Secunde.* The form of address is more familiar than in Cicero's time, when the presiding consul's address (at least in formally calling upon a senator to speak) was with *praenomen* and *nomen*, '*Dic, M. Tulli* [*quid censeas*]'; cf. Cic. *Att.* VII. 1. 4; 3. 5; 7. 7; IX. 5. 2. The initial position of the vocative is noteworthy.

sententiae loco: *i.e.* when called upon in regular order. The consul apparently yields to the objections raised against allowing Pliny any especial privilege for a motion of the sort for which he was evidently preparing the way, and gently recalls his granted permission. Apparently in such a speech *extra ordinem* the speaker was under the control of the presiding officer. But when asked his opinion (*sententiam rogatus*; cf. III. 7. 12,—Sel. 25,—n. *sententiam rogauisset*) in the due course of procedure, the speaker in the republican senate might discuss any matter he chose, whether immediately before the house or not, and apparently had a constitutional right to hold the floor as long as he chose to speak, up to the legal end of the sitting: see Gell. IV. 10. 8 (quoting the jurist Ateius Capito) *erat enim ius senatori ut sententiam rogatus diceret ante quicquid uellet aliae rei et quoad uellet*; Mommsen *Staatsrecht* III. p. 939 f. This extraordinary freedom was limited somewhat during the empire (cf. *ll. cc.*; Tac. *Ann.* II. 33), but perhaps in the senatorial freedom of Trajan's liberal reign, the old privilege was, tacitly if not formally, revived: cf. further VI. 19. 3 *sententiae loco postulauit ut consules desiderium uniuersorum notum principi facerent*; where, however, as here, the business proposed by the consul may have been the general *de re publica*, under which there was never any limitation of theme.

dices: the 'future of encouragement,' passing into a gentle imperative.

permiseras, etc.: *i.e.* in allowing me to bring the matter up at this point in the proceedings you had granted me only

the same privilege that you have always granted others. Hence in recalling the permission you are discriminating against me.

10. curato, *urgent*: cf. Tac. *Ann.* I. 13 *donec Haterius Augustam oraret eiusque curatissimis precibus protegeretur.*

notabilem futuris principibus: who might be rather like Domitian than like Nerva, and view with suspicion a man of rank who had expressed himself publicly with so much freedom about the tyranny of Domitian's reign and the turpitude of his tools. There was great doubt and anxiety about Nerva's choice of an heir, and the adoption of the high-minded Trajan was evidently not yet determined upon, or at least not yet announced. It was consummated on Oct. 27, 97 A.D. (Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 12. 9); see De la Berge *Trajan* p. 20.—With the ellipsis of *futurum esse* cf. that of *futurum* with *breui consulem* in § 11, and III. 1. 5 (Sel. 23) n. *liber, sermo.*

dum: in the sense of *dum modo*, with ellipsis of the verb (subjunctive), an ellipsis not infrequent in Pliny; cf. note cited immediately above.

11. rursus alter: on the parataxis in place of a *cum*-clause see VI. 20. 14 (Sel. 46) n. *uix consideramus et.*

praefectum aerarii (sc. *Saturni*): the administration of the public treasury was entrusted in republican times to the two city quaestors. Augustus put it into the hands of two former praetors with the title of *praefecti aerarii Saturni*, later calling them *praetores aerarii*. Claudius reverted to an older order in making two *quaestores aerarii*, but Nero restored the praetorian *praefecti aerarii Saturni*, and this title continued, except for a short time under Vespasian, when praetors were put in charge (Tac. *Hist.* IV. 9). (To be distinguished from the *aerarium Saturni*,—so-called from its early office, the temple of Saturn in the Forum,—are the *aerarium militare*, a fund for military pensions, conducted since the reign of Augustus by three *praefecti* of praetorian rank, and the *fiscus Caesaris*, the largest fund of all, from which the support of army and navy, war expenses, the construction of public buildings, the supply of grain for the city, and various other expenses were met. The *fiscus* was the emperor's personal affair, and was put into charge at first of a freedman of the emperor,—called *a rationibus*, *procurator a rationibus*, or the like,—and from Hadrian's time of an *equus* of experience in other procuracies. See Marquardt *Staatsverw.* II.[2] pp. 302 ff.

breui consulem: the consulship was the next step in the regular senatorial *cursus honorum* beyond the praetorship, between which and it a period of at least two years must elapse, which might be filled in with extra-cursal functions, like this of the praefecture of the treasury, as was the case with Cornutus Tertullus and Pliny, who passed from the praefecture of the treasury to the consulship.—The ellipsis of *futurum* is striking, but note the ellipsis of *futurum esse* in § 10.

quendam: the provincial governor referred to is unknown.

magnis dubiisque rumoribus, *busy and disquieting reports*: *sc.* that on Nerva's death (or even before) he might, like Vespasian, aspire to the throne by the help of his army.

12. 'omnia praecepi,' etc.: the reply of Aeneas to the warning of the Sibyl in Verg. *Aen.* VI. 105.

dum ulciscor: the indicative with *dum* is noticeable. The general meaning of *dum* ('while') shades off here into the meaning of *dum modo* ('provided'), while in I. 5. 15 (Sel. 4) *dum . . . uenit* (on which see note) it shades into the meaning 'until'; but grammatically the two instances belong in the same class.

13. censendi tempus: cf. §§ 7 n. *ius dicendi peto*, 9 n. *sententiae loco*.

Domitius Apollinaris: to him Pliny addresses V. 6, the long description of his Umbrian villa, and (probably) II. 9, on the candidacy of Sex. Erucius. An inscription (*C. I. Gr.* 4236) mentions him as legate of Lycia, but he is otherwise unknown.

consul designatus: the usual custom was to call upon consuls-elect to speak first, then upon former consuls, and so on down the list of curule officers-designate, or former officers (see Mommsen *Staatsrecht* III. pp. 972 ff.) Domitius was perhaps the colleague of Tacitus in a later *nundinum* of 97. He was *consul suffectus*, Nerva and Verginius Rufus being the *consules ordinarii* of the year, and if no other chronological indications were accessible (but see § 5 n. *ab exsilio redierant*), this title would show that the occasion was later in the year than the early part of January, when *consules suffecti* for the year were named (see II. 11. 19,—Sel. 17,—n. *consul designatus*).

Fabricius Veiento: see IV. 22. 4 (Sel. 35) n. *Veiento*.

Fabius Maximinus: otherwise unknown; but the order in which his name comes here (between a *consularis* and a

praetorius) would indicate that he was at least *praetorius* or *praetor designatus*, and may have been *consularis*.

Vettius Proculus: *consul suffectus* in the last nundinium of the next year (§ 23; Gruter 1071. 4), and proconsul of Asia at some date between 103 and 117 (cf. Mommsen. *Index Nom.* in Keil's Pl. *Ep.*).

collega: as *praefectus aerarii Saturni*, an office held by *praetorii* (cf. § 11 n.).

ultricus: perhaps as the husband of Pompeia Celerina; see § 4 n. *uxore*.

Ammius Flaccus: since he was called upon before Pliny, who was at this time *praetorius*, and after another *praetorius*, he must have been himself of that grade, but is not mentioned elsewhere.

in medio relictum: like a challenger's glove, thrown down for any one who will to pick up. The figure is an old and common one in Latin, and its derivation difficult to determine, though easy to guess about.

16. [T.] **Auidius Quietus**: an intimate friend of Pliny, of Thrasea Paetus (cf. VI. 29. 1), and of Plutarch, who dedicated to him two of his *Moralia*. In 82 A.D. he was legate of Thrace, and also under Domitian proconsul of some undetermined province. The year of his consulship is unknown. In 98 he was governor of Britain (*C.I.L.* III. Suppl. p. 1969), and was dead before Pliny wrote VI. 29 (perhaps in 106 or 107 A.D.).

Cornutus Tertullus: see II. 11. 19 (Sel. 17) n. *Cornutus Tertullus*. Though later Pliny's colleague, he was his senior as *praetorius*, and so was called upon before him in the senate.

nec interesse, etc.; this was said apparently in answer to the plea that enough senators had suffered already (§ 7).

18. a consulibus tutorem: cf. Iust. *Inst.* I. 20 *si cui nullus omnino tutor fuerat, ei dabatur in urbe quidem Roma a praetore urbano et maiore parte tribunorum plebis tutor ex lege Atilia, in prouinciis uero a praesidibus prouinciarum ex lege Iulia et Titia* [cf. Gaius *Inst.* I. 185. 200; Ulp. XI. 18] . . . *sed ex his legibus pupillis tutores desierunt dari, posteaquam primo consules pupillis utriusque sexus tutores ex inquisitione dare coeperunt, deinde praetores ex constitutionibus.* The former change (*primo*, etc.) in the method of the appointment seems to have been made by Claudius, the latter (*deinde*, etc.), by Marcus Aurelius; cf. Suet. *Claud.* 23 *sanxit ut pupillis extra ordinem tutores a consulibus darentur*; Capit.

Marc. 10. 11 *praetorem tutelarem primus fecit, cum antea tutores a consulibus poscerentur.*

Heluidi filiae: Heluidius left a son and two daughters, whether all by Anteia, or some by an earlier marriage, is uncertain (see III. 11. 3,- Sel. 26,—n. *Heluidio*). At all events it looks as though perhaps only one of the daughters was in her minority at the time of the appointment of Cornutus as guardian, which was probably some considerable time after the death of Heluidius, as it followed upon the marriage of his widow. The death, or resignation, of an earlier guardian may have been the reason for the appointment of Cornutus.

uitrico: his name is unknown.

non sustinere deserere: with the phrase cf. § 6 *non sustinui inducere.*

modum imponere, *putting restraint upon*: *sc.* instead of indulging it to the full.

optimarum, etc., *to report the most temperate sentiments of these excellent ladies.*

adulationis, *obsequiousness*: *sc.* toward Domitian, in prosecuting Heluidius to the death at his desire.

nota quasi censoria: the republican censors revised quinquennially the list of the senate, affixing a mark (*nota*) to the name of any member whom they chose to remove from that body. Such procedure was no longer in vogue, but the emperor revised the list annually, excluding from it senators who had fallen below the legal property-qualification, or had been convicted of certain serious crimes. And from Domitian's time the emperor went further, and exercised the right at his discretion of summary removal from membership in the senate. If the senate, therefore, expressed in any way its condemnation of Publicius Certus, the emperor might at least degrade him, and thus the same effect be gained as that of the republican *nota censoria.*

17. Satrius Rufus: mentioned elsewhere only in I. 5. 11 (Sel. 4). He was evidently *praetorius* at this time.

medio ambiguoque sermone, *in balanced, non-committal terms*: i.e. his speech seemed to favour Certus, and yet he did not oppose his indictment.

18. clamoribus: *sc.* of applause; cf. II. 14. 6 (Sel. 20) *clamores*, and 12 *clamoribus.*

19. incipit respondere Veiento: *sc.* breaking in upon the regular *perrogatio sententiarum*, and speaking for a second time upon the question. This might be allowed by the presiding consul on request; cf. Schol. Bobb. on Cic. *Orat. de*

aere alieno Milonis p. 342 Orelli *tertia haec est interrogandi species, ut Sinnio Capitoni uidetur, pertinens ad officium et consuetudinem senatoriam. quando enim aliquis sententiam loco suo iam dixerat, et alius postea interrogatus quaedam uidebatur ita locutus ut refutari posse iustissime uiderentur, postulabat ille qui iam sententiam dixerat ut sibi liceret interrogare, hoc est, illum redarguere cuius sententia in multis quasi mendax et calumniosa redargui posset.*

auxilium tribunorum: cf. I. 23. 1 (Sel. 14) n. *inanem umbram.*

uir clarissime: the formal title of a senator, as 'the honourable member' of a member of the House of Commons.

20. inter moras, *meanwhile*: as in Suet. *Ner.* 49 *scrobem fieri imperauit . . . inter moras codicillos legit.*

citatis nominibus: *sc.* of the rest of the senators entitled to speak. The senate so clearly showed that it was unwilling to listen to Veiento again that the consul, even in the midst of the tumult, proceeded with and concluded the regular *perrogatio sententiarum*, put the proposition of Pliny to vote by a division of the house, and adjourned the session. It is evident that the citation of the senators who came later on the list must have been a pure formality, as they could not have been heard in the uproar, or must at best have contented themselves, as commonly, with expressing a mere assent to the opinion of one of the former speakers. The motion, which looked toward a formal arraignment of Certus, evidently carried by a large majority, but, according to precedent, had yet to be referred to the emperor for his approval: cf. § 22 n.

peracta discessione: see II. 11. 22 (Sel. 17) n. *discessio.*

Homerico uersu: *Il.* VIII. 102, the words of Diomed, urging Nestor to mount the chariot with him.

21. complecteretur, exoscularetur: the effusiveness of salutations among even the men of the races of southern Europe, in ancient as in modern days, is well known: cf. V. 17. 4 *recitatione finita multum ac diu exosculatus adulescentem, laudibus incitaui.*

quod intermissum ... **reduxissem**, *for having rescued from long abeyance at the risk of private animosities the custom of open discussion*; for under Domitian the senate had but reflected and registered the dictatorial will of the emperor.

22. relationem de eo Caesar ad senatum non remisit: the emperor had the right, according to the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* (*C.I.L.* VI. 930), *senatum habere, relationem facere, remittere*; *i.e.* to call meetings of the senate, and to introduce

bills either of his own motion (*relationem facere*) or in response to representations addressed to him by the senate through the consuls (*relationem remittere*). It appears that not all bills proposed by private members, or by the consuls, were submitted thus in advance to the emperor for his approval, but only exceptionally important bills, especially such as involved weighty precedents or (as here and in IV. 9. 1; Tac. *Ann.* III. 10; Suet. *Tib.* 61) the *caput* of a senator. The right to claim, or at least the custom of exercising, such control over legislation doubtless rested back upon the emperor's right, by virtue of his tribunician power, to veto any action of the senate (cf. Mommsen *Staatsrecht* II.[3] p. 900).—On Nerva's reluctance to allow further prosecution of the informers of Domitian's reign see IV. 22. 6 (Sel. 35) n. *nobiscum cenaret.*

23. collega Certi consulatum, successorem Certus accepit: see §§ 13 nn. *Vettius Proculus collega*; 11 nn. *praefectum aerarii, breui consulem.* It does not to be sure follow necessarily that Certus was immediately removed from the prefecture of the treasury, and must be conceded to be possible that both Certus and Proculus were continued in office till, or into, the next year (98 A.D.), when the emperor's judgment was made sufficiently clear by the nomination (early in January) of Proculus to a suffect-consulship, as might be expected in the regular order, while Certus received simply a successor, being quietly but decisively dropped out of the line of further promotion. But this would make Pliny himself, with Cornutus Tertullus, the immediate successor of Certus (and Proculus), under the common understanding of the case (so especially Mommsen). Yet it is most surprising that, if this were so, Pliny should lose the chance to call attention to that dramatic fact. On the whole, a more reasonable supposition is that the term of Certus came to a speedy end after this discussion in the senate, and another man was appointed prefect in his place, Proculus and this new colleague continuing in office till into the next year (98), when, perhaps in August or October, they were succeeded in the prefecture by Cornutus and Pliny: see X. 3, 8 nn. (Sel. 75, 77); and the present editor's article on the date of Pliny's praefecture of the treasury of Saturn in *Amer. Jour. of Philology*, vol. XXIII., No. 4.

successorem accepit: a common phrase to signify removal from office before the expiration of the normal term; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 88 *legato eum consulari successorem dedisse ut rudi et indocto*; Spart. *Hadr.* 9. 4 *cui cum successorem dare non posset, quia non petebat, id egit ut peteret*; 11. 2 *Septicio Claro . . . et Suetonio Tranquillo . . . successores dedit*; 24. 7

qua re praelata successore accepto dignitate privatus est; Suet. *Dom.* 1 '*mirari se*' *Vespasiano dictitante* '*quod successores non et sibi mitteret*': et al.

praemium: *sc.* the prefecture of the treasury, not simply the hope of future advancement.

optimo principe: *sc.* Nerva; of Trajan the epithet is used as a formal title; cf. IV. 22. 1 (Sel. 35) n. *principis optimi*.

utcumque: cf. I. 12. 2 (Sel. 8) n. *utcumque*.

25. oculis oberrasse; see VII. 27. 6 (Sel. 54) n. *inerrabat*.

ausim: an antique optative aorist (connected with *audeo*, —or *aueo*) used in Latin from the time of Plautus downward, chiefly in such expressions as this of formally hesitating affirmation; cf. IV. 4. 3 *ausim contendere*; Liu. III. 23 fin. *adfirmare . . . non ausim*; Tac. *Agr.* 43 *adfirmare ausim*.

65. (IX. 19.)

Was the modesty of Verginius or of Frontinus more truly unaffected?—Ruso is apparently the Cremutius Ruso whom, as a much younger man than himself, Pliny (VI. 23) asks to have selected as junior counsel in a case with himself, but he is otherwise unknown.

1. epistula: *sc.* VI. 10 (Sel. 44), which Ruso had doubtless read in the published collection; cf. Intr. p. xl.

Verginium Rufum: see II. 1 nn. (Sel. 15).

melius rectiusque (*sc. fecisse*): cf. X. 2. 3 (Sel. 74) n. *di melius*.

Frontinum: Sex. Iulius Frontinus, an intimate friend and counsellor (V. 1. 5) of Pliny, who succeeded him in the college of augurs (IV. 8. 3), was one of the most prominent and able men of his day. He was praetor in 70 A.D. (Tac. *Hist.* IV. 39), then consul, governor of Britain in 76-78 (Tac. *Agr.* 17), *consul suffectus* again in 97 under Nerva (*Pan.* 61), as well as *curator aquarum*, and *consul ordinarius* with Trajan in 100 (*Pan.* 61). He was the author of a work on military science and of one on the aqueducts of Rome (invaluable to us), which still survive, and of a treatise on field-surveying, which exists only in fragments. In order to hold the praetorship in 70 A.D. he must have been born as early as 40, and his death occurred doubtless not long before IV. 8 was written, and therefore perhaps in 103 or 104 (cf. Intr. p. xl.).

2. utrumque dilexi: on his regard for Verginius see II. 1 (Sel. 15): of Frontinus he says, in IV. 8. 3, that on the annual days of nomination Frontinus always named him for a priest-

hood, as if choosing him for his own successor; and in v. 1. 5 he calls Frontinus and Corellius *duos quos tunc ciuitas nostra spectatissimos habuit.*

3. supremis titulis: *i.e.* their epitaphs, which according to Roman custom might be long and laudatory.

5. Cluuium: M. Cluuius Rufus, who was consul under Caligula, and governor of Spain under Nero, composed a history of his own times, which is not extant, but is thought to have served as the chief authority of Tacitus in the first two books of his Histories, of Plutarch in his Lives of Galba and Otho, and of Suetonius in his Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. His remark to Verginius might indicate that he was inclined to judge the action of the hero in 'declining' the crown to be due to prudence, or to circumstances, rather than to principle. And the answer of Verginius could not have been more neatly phrased if he knew this to be the opinion of Cluuius.

ut esset liberum, etc.: for under a military monarchy freedom of speech could not be guaranteed,—and indeed, it was unsafe under even so goodhearted a man as Vespasian. Verginius apparently means that his purpose was to leave the way open for the restoration of the republic, for which the idealists had not ceased to hope.

uobis, *you historians*: not the plural for the singular.

6. age dum: with this colloquial expression cf. VIII. 6. 13 *mane dum*, and the comedians and other writers *passim.*

parcior et pressior, *more modest and reserved*: cf. VII. 12. 4 *pressius quiddam et exilius uel potius humilius et peius* (as distinguished from *tumidius*).

uetuit exstrui monimentum: with the carelessness of Frontinus about a tomb may be compared the discussion about the anxiety over burial in Cic. *Tusc.* I. 102-109, which concludes, *etsi enim nihil habet in se gloria cur expetatur, tamen uirtutem tanquam umbra sequitur.*

an: cf. I. 10. 9 (Sel. 7) n. *an*; I. 16. 18 (Sel. 11) n. *an.*

per orbem terrarum legendum dare: it does not follow, as many critics will have it, that these words show that Frontinus made the quoted statement in a book, and not privately, or in his will. Pliny is arguing like a lawyer for the other party; and like himself he cannot acquit of self-consciousness any man who can utter as striking a sentence as that of Frontinus. Of course, for that matter, the utterance was sure to be quoted widely, if for no other reason, to explain the apparent neglect of the heirs to provide a suitable monument.

7. quanquam, *and yet*: cf. III. 7. 12 (Sel. 25) n. *quanquam.*

66. (IX. 21.)

A request for a freedman's pardon. (The companion letter is IX. 24,—Sel. 68.)—Sabinianus is otherwise unknown.—This letter is sometimes compared with that of St. Paul to Philemon. But where Pliny puts the plea for pardon on practical, humanitarian, and philosophic grounds ('he is sorry; he won't do so again; and you injure yourself by anger'), St. Paul puts it upon the ground of Christian fellowship.

1. libertus: so-called, instead of *libertinus*, since here he is spoken of in his immediate relation to his former owner.

aduolutus pedibus: cf. I. 18. 3 (Sel. 12) n. *aduoluta genibus*.

in summa: cf. I. 12. 12 (Sel. 8) n. *in summa*.

3. ne torseris illum: the freedman was still, in the eye of the law, a member of the *familia*, and therefore, like children and slaves, was subject to punishment at the will of the *pater familias* for wrong doing. Nothing is known in detail concerning the practical carrying into effect of this right of household jurisdiction in the case of freedmen at this period, though it may be doubted whether their condition in this respect was much better than that of slaves, who were practically undefended from most savage treatment at the hands of their masters, except that death, and such other extreme punishments as condemnation to the arena, could not be inflicted unless with the approval of the proper magistrate (cf. *Dig.* XVIII. 1. 42; XLVIII. 8. 11. 2; *et al.*). But Pliny so frequently uses this verb (and its corresponding noun) to denote purely mental disquietude or suffering that it may be doubted whether he does not so use it here, of the freedman as well as of the master; cf. VI. 1. 2; 7. 3 (Sel. 43); VII. 5. 2 (Sel. 48); 12. 4; 19. 9 (Sel. 50); 30. 1; VIII. 23. 9. And the first sentence of IX. 24 (Sel. 68) indicates that the punishment feared was not physical, but at the most consisted in banishment from the *familia*, and perhaps from the city (see note thereupon).

ne torseris etiam te. torqueris enim: on the epanalepsis see I. 1. 1 (Sel. 1) n. *colligerem . . . collegi*; IV. 13. 1 (Sel. 33) n. *uenisse*.

4. iterum rogabo. impetrabo iterum: with the chiastic repetition cf. I. 12. 12 (Sel. 8) n. *morte doleo*.

67. (IX. 23.)

The joint fame of Tacitus and Pliny.—On Maximus see introd. note to II. 14. (Sel. 20).

1. centumuiri; see I. 5. 4 (Sel. 4) n. *centumuiros.*

auctoritatem grauitatemque, *impressive dignity.*

consurgerent laudarentque: on the rising to applaud see VII. 24. 7 (Sel. 52) n. *exsultabant.*

2. e senatu famam rettuli: with the phraseology cf. III. 7. 3 (Sel. 25) *ex proconsulatu Asiae gloriam reportauerat.*

secum, *next him*: cf. § 4 *mecum.*

circensibus: see IX. 6. 1 (Sel. 61) n. *circenses.*

et quidem: see I. 6. 1 (Sel. 5) n. *et quidem.*

3. Tacitus es an Plinius: cf. on the coupling of the names VII. 20. 5 (Sel. 51): on the absence of an interrogative particle in the first member of the double question see I. 18. 2 (Sel. 12) n. *an.*

quod nomina nostra, etc., *that our names, as if the property of letters rather than of men, are thus ascribed to literature.*

4. recumbebat: *sc.* at a dinner-table; see II. 6. 3 (Sel. 16) n. *recumbebat.*

mecum: doubtless 'next me' (cf. § 2 *secum*); but cf. a different expression for the same order in II. 6. 3 (Sel. 16) *proximus recumbebat.*

uir egregius: see IV. 22. 1 (Sel. 35) n. *uir egregius.*

Fadius Rufinus: otherwise unknown.

super eum: apparently Pliny, Rufinus, and the friend of the latter, occupied the same *lectus*, which was either the *lectus medius*, or the *lectus summus*, Pliny's place being the *locus imus*, that of the greatest honour of the three. Furthermore, unless there were three guests present of higher consideration than Pliny, the couch was the *lectus medius*, and Pliny's position that of the highest guest of the evening.

5. an: cf. I. 10. 9 (Sel. 7) n. *an*; I. 16. 8 (Sel. 11) n. *an.*

Demosthenes, etc.: the story is told in Aelian IX. 17, and in Cic. *Tusc.* V. 103, who censures Demosthenes therein for vanity. And the satirists naturally speak in the same way of such popular distinctions; cf. Pers. 1. 28 ff.; but *per contra* Lucian *Herod.* 2; Hor. *Carm.* IV. 3. 22; Mart. V. 13. 3 f.

6. aliorum iudicium: cf. VII. 4. 10 (Sel. 47) *sed quid ego tam gloriose? . . . et tamen non de meo sed de aliorum iudicio loquor.*

68. (IX. 24.)

The freedman has been pardoned (see IX. 21,—Sel. 66).

epistulis: doubtless the plural of a single letter (*sc.* IX. 21,—Sel. 66), after the (post-classical) analogy of *litteris*; cf. X. 10. 1; Tac. *Ann.* I. 30; *et al.*

in domum, in animum recepisti: the phrase is hardly consistent with any other idea of the punishment than that it consisted simply in banishment from the *familia*, and from the good graces of its head. Yet it should be noted that an offending freedman might be banished not merely from the *familia* of the *patronus* (and presumably, therefore, from all of his estates), but from a region of twenty miles radius around Rome: cf. Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 26; Mommsen *Strafrecht* p. 18.

igitur: cf. III. 1. 12 (Sel. 23) n. *igitur.*

69. (IX. 33.)

A 'fish-story.'—On Caninius see introd. note to I. 3 (Sel. 3).—The elder Pliny tells the same story in briefer form in *N. H.* IX. 26, among other stories of the affection of dolphins for human beings, and he is copied therein by Solinus 12. 9.

1. super cenam: cf. the same phrase in III. 5. 11 (Sel. 24) and IV. 22. 6 (Sel. 35). Either Pliny had not read his uncle's great work, or had forgotten that this story appeared in it, or he is making an attempt to give an air of artistic freshness to the suggested theme.

quid poetae cum fide: cf. VI. 21. 6 *quod tamen poetis mentiri licet*; VII. 4. 10 (Sel. 47) *poetis furere concessum est.*

2. Africa: *i.e.* the Roman province of that name; see VII. 27. 2 (Sel. 54) n. *Africam.*

Hipponensis colonia: *i.e.* Hippo Diarrhytus (or Zarytus),—Pliny the Elder (*l.c.*) gives the full name,—a town near the White Cape (*prom. candidum*), and so a little to the north-west of Carthage and of Utica. A Roman colony was planted there by Julius Caesar. The other well-known Hippo, surnamed Regius, lay about a hundred and twenty-five miles further westward, within the boundaries of Numidia, but had been included within the boundaries of Africa Proconsularis since the time of Caligula.

4. delphinus: of all sea-creatures the dolphin was considered by the ancients to be the tamest and most human-like.

subire, deponere, *took him on his back, let him go again.*

mox: in the sense of *deinde*; cf. I. 5. 8 (Sel. 4) n. *mox.*

5. si quid est mari simile: apparently only a fantastic expression for the lagoon and estuary (*si quid* = *quicquid*).

uarios orbes implicitat expeditque, *winds in and out in changing circles.*

6. innutritos mari, *people who were themselves nurslings of the sea.*

appellant: the elder Pliny declares that dolphins recognize and are pleased with the name Simo ['Snub-nose'] when they are called by it; cf. *N.H.* IX. 23 [*delphinis*] *rostrum simum, qua de causa nomen Simonis omnes miro modo agnoscunt maluntque ita appellari*; and the specific instance, *ibid.* 25 *cum appellatum eum* [*delphinum*] *Simonis nomine saepius fragmentis panis adlexisset*, etc.; and *ibid.* 30. See also W. Heraeus in *Archiv f. lat. Lexicog. u. Gram.* XII. pp. 129 f.

praebentem, *at will*: the present participle is here equivalent to a relative-clause (*delphinum qui se tractantibus mansuetum praebet*).

fertur referturque: one of the elder Pliny's stories (*l.c.*) is of a dolphin who regularly carried a boy on his back to and from school for some years across the gulf of Baiae. The same story is quoted from Apion by Gellius in VI. 8.—The story of Arion, and the representation of Taras riding a dolphin on the coins of Tarentum (cf. Head *Historia Numorum* pp. 44 ff.) will also occur to the mind.

amari putat, amat ipse: cf. the phraseology in IV. 27. 4 (verses by Sentius Augurinus) *et quaerit quod amet, putatque amari.*

7. nec non: emphasising the statement that follows ('even'), quite as in classical prose. In Cicero, however (but not so consistently in Varro, Vergil, and later writers), the two negatives are regularly separated by other words.

9. Octauium Auitum: the elder Pliny (*l.c.*) says it was Flauianus, the proconsul himself. Both men are otherwise unknown.

religione praua, *through misdirected reverence.*

superfudisse unguentum: it was customary to anoint with ointment statues, or other memorials or dwelling-places, of the gods, and Auitus apparently acted under the popular

belief that this dolphin was the incarnation of some divinity of the sea.

nouitatem odoremque: apparently a case of hendiadys, which is rare in Pliny; cf. VIII. 20. 7 (Sel. 59) *cursum certamenque*: I. 10. 12 (Sel. 7) n. *sensum uoluptatemque*.

post multos dies; the elder Pliny (*l.c.*) says *per aliquot menses*.

10. modica res publica: *the slender public treasury*.

nouis sumptibus atterebatur: for these visiting officials had to be entertained at public expense.

locus ... perdebat: the unbusinesslike provincials evidently did not appreciate their rich commercial opportunity to make their quiet town a second Margate or Coney Island.

11. quanquam, *and yet*: see III. 7. 12 (Sel. 25) n. *quanquam*; and cf. the similar ending in VII. 33. 10 *quanquam non exigo ut excedas actae rei modum: nam nec historia debet egredi ueritatem, et honeste factis ueritas sufficit.*

non est opus affingas: Pliny uses *opus* very frequently in its more ordinary constructions, but once only (VII. 6. 3 *cui opus esset ne reus uideretur*) elsewhere with a finite mood; and Kühner (*Ausf. Gram.* II. p. 808) cites this as the only instance of *opus est* with the subjunctive but without the particle.

70. (IX. 36.)

Pliny's disposition of the day in his summer-home.—On Fuscus see introd. note to VII. 9 (Sel. 49), also a letter on vacation studies.

1. in Tuscis: so Pliny refers to his country-seat on the verge of the Apennines, whenever it is mentioned by name. He speaks of it in IV. 1. 4 as near the town of Tifernum Tiberinum (mod. Città di Castello), and describes its features in detail in V. 6, evidently a companion picture to II. 17 (Sel. 21), his account of his seaside home near Laurentum. The precise site of the Tuscan (or more precisely, Umbrian) villa has been recently determined as in the district of S. Fiora, near the hamlets of Lama and Pitigliano, a few miles north of Città di Castello, where among other remains of a great villa have been found a votive inscription of a certain Plinia Chreste, and brick stamps inscribed C · P · C · S (the initials of Pliny's name): see Gamurrini in *Strena Helbigiana* (1900) pp. 93 ff. Gamurrini thought the villa belonged in the later

years of Augustus to M. Granius Marcellus (*id.* in *Rendic. Accad. Lincei* 1897, p. 192).

aestate: the mountain home was his favourite summer resort, the seaside (*Laurentinum*) his winter resort: cf. IX. 40 (Sel. 72); v. 6. 1 *me aestate Tuscos meos petiturum*; *et al.*

circa horam primam: this was to be tolerably lazy, as fitted the summer vacation and *villeggiatura*: cf. Hor. *Ep.* I. 17. 6 f. *si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam | delectat, . . . Ferentinum ire iubebo.*

clausae fenestrae manent: the bed-rooms in Pompeian houses, and the prevailing custom in that and other European countries till the present time, go far to prove that man can live without oxygen.

2. silentio et tenebris: so Demosthenes worked, and so Quintilian recommends; cf. *Inst. Orat.* X. 3. 25 *Demosthenes melius, qui se in locum ex quo nulla exaudiri uox et ex quo nihil prospici posset recondebat, ne aliud agere mentem cogerent oculi; ideoque lucubrantes silentium noctis et clausum cubiculum et lumen unum uelut tectos maxime teneat.*

in manibus: see I. 2. 6 (Sel. 2) n. *in manibus.*

ad uerbum: *i.e.* in final form, and not merely a rough first draught.

teneri (sc. *memoriā*): see VII. 9. 3 (Sel. 49) n. *teneas.* Pliny composed in perfect darkness, elaborating his work to verbal completeness without the aid of writing, and in as large sections as he could carry perfectly in memory at one time. Each section, as it was completed, was dictated to an amanuensis, and the process of solitary composition resumed.

notarium: see III. 5. 15 (Sel. 24) n. *notarius.*

die: see VI. 20. 6 (Sel. 46) n. *adhuc dubius dies.*

formaueram dicto: on the sequence see I. 2. 1 (Sel. 2) n. *promiseram exhibeo.* In this instance the pluperfect falls away from consistent sequence with the historical present to its normal force.

3. dies: *i.e.* the weather: on fair days he walks in the open air, on stormy days under cover.

xystum, cryptoporticum: see respectively II. 17. 16, 17 (Sel. 21) nn. So Spurinna (III. 1. 4,—Sel. 23), whose mode of life Pliny emulates in desire, passed from his indoor study in the morning to a similar combination of exercise and study. Pliny's *Tusci* contained a regular *ambulatio* for walking (see V. 6. 17), which surrounded the *xystus*, and to this measured path he doubtless refers when he speaks here of the included garden-terrace.

reliqua meditor et dicto, *continue my composition and dictation.*

uehiculum ascendo: still following Spurinna's order of exercise (*l.c.*), except that the old man rested a while between walking and driving. The villa had a *hippodromos* for riding and driving, which Pliny describes amorously in v. 6. 32 ff.

ambulans aut iacens: *sc.* on the terrace (or in the gallery), or in his chamber.

paulum redormio: the usual midday siesta (cf. IX. 40. 2, —Sel. 72; III. 5. 11,—Sel. 24,—n. *dormiebat minimum*), which is not mentioned in Pliny's account of Spurinna's day: see however III. 1. 9 (Sel. 23) n. *cena*.

clare et intente, *aloud and with vigour*: cf. V. 19. 6 (Sel. 40) *intente instanterque pronuntiat.*

stomachi: cf. Celsus I. 2 *commode uero exercent* [*corpus*] *clara lectio*, etc.; *id.* I. 8 *si quis uero stomacho laborat, legere clare debet*: and the elder Pliny (*N.H.* XXVIII. 53) joins the vigorous use of the voice (*intentio uocis*) with other advantageous forms of exercise.

exerceor: the form of active exercise that immediately preceded the bath. Spurinna played ball (III. 1. 8,—Sel 23). With *exerceor* as a middle-voice form cf. *l.c. mouetur pila.*

4. cenanti: the omission of reference to the taking of food earlier in the day is probably to be interpreted as meaning that Pliny ate but one meal a day,—a regimen which Celsus (I. 3) advises to men in good health and years, at least in winter, though the addition of *prandium* is counselled for the summer: see III. 1. 9 (Sel. 23) n. *cena*.

post cenam comoedus aut lyristes: see I. 15. 2 (Sel. 10) n. *comoedum*.

mox, *then*: see I. 5. 8 (Sel. 4) n. *mox*.

meis: see II. 17. 7 (Sel. 21) n. *meorum*.

ambulo: like his uncle (III. 5. 13,—Sel. 24), but unlike Spurinna (III. 1. 9,—Sel. 23), Pliny concluded his dinner and the following entertainment while it was yet day. Nor is it strange that his dinner was set at an early hour in the afternoon, if it was the one meal of the day.

uariis sermonibus uespera extenditur: cf. Hor. *Ep.* I. 5. 10 f. *impune licebit | aestiuam sermone benigno tendere noctem.*

quanquam longissimus dies conditur: cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 9. 51 f. *saepe ego longos | cantando puerum memini me condere soles.*

5. si diu iacui uel ambulaui, etc.: *i.e.* he sometimes prolongs the early morning study in his chamber, or while walking in terrace or gallery, over the time usually assigned to his drive (§§ 2, 3 *init.*). In this case he postpones the drive till after the nap and the voice-practice (**post ... demum** = 'but not till after'), or rather substitutes a ride for it, a more active form of exercise, which, however, apparently must extend over just as many 'laps' of the hippodrome.

6. uenor ... non sine pugillaribus: cf. I. 6 (Sel. 5); IX. 10 (Sel. 62); v. 6. 45 (of his Tuscan villa) *studiis animum, uenatu corpus exerceo*; v. 18. 2 *ego in Tuscis et uenor et studeo, quae interdum alternis interdum simul facio, nec tamen adhuc possum pronuntiare utrum sit difficilius, capere aliquid an scribere.*

aliquando, *occasionally*: cf. v. 3. 2 (Sel. 36) n. *aliquando.*

quamuis: cf. v. 3. 10 (Sel. 36) n. *quamuis.*

pugillaribus: see I. 6. 1 (Sel. 5) n. *pugillares.*

colonis: see v. 14. 8 (Sel. 38) n. *circumibam agellos.*

agrestes querelae: cf. his account in IX. 15. 1; v. 14. 8 (Sel. 38).

71. (IX. 39.)

A country-temple for Ceres.—Mustius was apparently an architect, but is not mentioned elsewhere.

1. haruspicum: see II. 20. 4 (Sel. 22) n. *haruspicem.*

monitu: the probability is that Pliny was previously disposed to conduct the improvements mentioned, and that the desired interpretation by the *haruspices* of some lightning-flash, or other omen, was the formal manner of securing the proper religious authorization for meddling with an established shrine.

praediis (sc. *meis*): whether in Umbria or at Como is left uncertain.

alioqui, *in fact*: cf. II. 12. 2 (Sel. 18) n. *alioqui.*

2. Idibus Septembribus: Ceres was apparently one of the very ancient Italian divinities, worshipped all over the country from earliest days, and especially by the lower classes of the population. At Rome, however, her great popular festival (*Cerealia*) was not on Sept. 13, but on Apr. 19 (XIII. Kal. Mai.,—at the sprouting-time). For the rustic population, however, the month of September, covering the interval between the grain-harvest and the vintage, was a time of comparative leisure, and a good period for festivals. And this especial date (Sept. 13) may have been the day of dedication of this particular temple.

nullum suffugium: evidently this ancient shrine was nothing but a simple *cella*, without columns. Indeed Vitruvius speaks of the colonnade of a temple as having been devised in part for the sake of affording just such shelter as was lacking here; Vitr. III. 3. 9 *pteromatos enim ratio et columnarum circum aedem dispositio ideo est inuenta . . . si ex imbribus aquae uis occupauerit et intercluserit hominum multitudinem, ut habeat in aede circaque cellam cum laxamento liberum moram.*

3. porticus: see I. 3. 1 (Sel. 3) n. *porticus.*

quattuor columnas: the temple was therefore to be made over into a tetrastyle-prostyle,—*i.e.* with the gable projecting beyond the front wall of the *cella*, and supported by four columns in line parallel thereto, while at the sides and rear the roof does not project beyond the *cella*-walls, and no columns are used.

cuius tibi uidebitur generis: Greek architects had confined themselves to the use of white marbles for such purposes, employing pigments, however, more or less in capitals and cornices (see the article on *Polychromie* in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*); but the Romans, in their magnificent taste for coloured marbles from all quarters of the world, used them also in such exterior construction.

quibus solum quibus parietes excolantur: *i.e.* the pavement would be covered with some form of mosaic, and the walls with panelled incrustations, in which various sorts of coloured marbles would appear: cf. v. 6. 22 (in his Umbrian home) *cubiculum marmore excultum podio tenus*; *ibid.* 38 [*cubiculum*] *marmore splendet.*

4. uel emendum: ready-made statues might be found in sculptors' shops.

e ligno: in itself a probable mark of the antiquity of the statue; see VIII. 8. 5 (Sel. 57) n. *praetexta.* The construction of the ablative of material with *ex* but without a participle (*e.g. factum*) is as old as Cicero (cf. *Verr.* IV. 62 *pocula ex auro*), and occurs elsewhere in Pliny (*e.g.* V. 6. 40 *sedilia e marmore*). But Pliny also uses the (non-Ciceronian, but poetical and silver-age) ablative of material without either participle or preposition (*e.g.* V. 6. 36 *stibadium candido marmore*).

5. interim, *just at present.*

quod uideatur istinc esse repetendum, *which it seems necessary to order from there*: istinc is probably Rome, as Pliny is writing from his country-seat to an artistic centre. On **repetendum**, which goes a step further than the ordinary in meaning, see II. 6. 1 (Sel. 16) n. *altius repetere.*

formam scribas, *you should draw a plan.*

hinc ... hinc, *on one side ... on the other*: the temple being thus planted with its side and not its front to the road, squeezed in between road and river, and immovable for ritual reasons, the possible diversion of the road would yet leave it impossible to surround the temple with porticoes symmetrically arranged with reference to its longitudinal axis,—as was done, for example, at Rome in the case of the temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum Iulium, or even of Mars Vltor in the Forum Augustum, to mention no other instances. The porticoes must apparently be arranged on three sides of a rectangle, open toward the (side of the) temple, and the road perhaps allowed to cross the area on the same line as before, as a road ran through the Forum Augustum and the Forum Transitorium at Rome.

72. (IX. 40.)

A supplementary letter to IX. 36 (Sel. 70).

1. in Tuscis: see IX. 36. 1 (Sel. 70) n. *in Tuscis.*

in Laurentino: see the description in II. 17 (Sel. 21).

2. meridianus somnus: cf. IX. 36. 3 (Sel. 70) n. *paulum redormio.*

multum de nocte sumitur: *sc.* for study; but cf. of Spurinna's dinner (III. 1. 9,—Sel. 23) *sumit aliquid de nocte et aestate.*

LIBER X. (AD TRAIANUM).

73. (X. 1.)

Congratulation to Trajan on his accession.—The death of Nerva, and the consequent accession of Trajan, took place on the 27th of January, 98 A.D. (cf. Dio LXVIII. 4. 2), when Trajan was absent as governor of Germany. This letter must have been written promptly after the event. Trajan did not return to Rome till the year 99 (cf. III. 7. 6,—Sel. 25,—*aduentu noui principis*).

1. pietas: the quality of filial reverence perhaps called for special comment in cases where the relation was one merely of adoption in mature years. *Pius* was a recognized imperial title from the time of the first Antonine, and *pietas Augusti* is frequently commemorated upon coins.

imperator: the military title which, since the time of Tiberius, had been assumed only by the actual occupant of the throne, or by his colleague. In only two other letters (x. 4. 1; 14. 1) does Pliny use it in addressing the emperor directly. Generally he uses the form *domine*, sometimes, however, omitting the vocative altogether.

sanctissime: probably used here of character rather than of the 'divinity doth hedge a king,' into which meaning it later passed. Cf. the frequent application by Pliny of the word and its derivatives to moral qualities, and of the emperor himself in x. 3A. 3 (Sel. 75) *sanctissimis moribus tuis*; 100 *praecipua sanctitate, obsequio, deorum honore*.

quam tardissime: cf. *Pan.* 10 *cum neque aliud tibi ex illa adoptione quam filii pietatem, filii obsequium adsereres, longamque huic nomini aetatem, longam gloriam precarere*.

patri: Nerva had adopted Trajan (by *adrogatio*) in his absence in 97 A.D., apparently on Oct. 27, and he had been made his actual colleague in the empire by receiving both the *imperium proconsulare* (which carried with it the title of *imperator*; cf. *Pan.* 9) and the *tribunicia potestas*.

di immortales: not to be understood in any other than a formal sense; see I. 5. 5 (Sel. 4) n. *mihi deos adfuisse*.

ad gubernacula rei publicae admouere: cf. *Pan.* 6 *ratio quae te publicae salutis gubernaculis admoueret*.

susceperas: *sc.* by being made Nerva's colleague three months before.

2. saeculo, *reign*: see IV. 11. 6 (Sel. 32) n. *saeculum*; I. 5. 11 (Sel. 4) n. *saeculi*.

fortem et hilarem, *in good health and spirits*: the same adjectives are united in a concluding wish in IV. 1. 7; cf. also X. 52 (Sel. 94) *te incolumem florentemque*; 88 (Sel. 102) *incolumis et fortis*; 100 *te remque publicam florentem et incolumem*.

imperator optime: so also in X. 4. 1; 14. 1; see § 1 n. *imperator*.

et priuatim et publice opto: *i.e.* the good wishes are those of a friend for a friend and of a subject for his prince; see II. 1. 7 (Sel. 15) n. *non solum publice*.

74. (X. 2.)

Thanks for the *ius trium liberorum*.—The privilege was granted early in Trajan's reign (cf. § 2), and the letter doubtless dates from early in the year 98.

1. domine, *Sir*: the address (though originally that of a slave to his master) implies neither servility nor necessarily a subject's condition. It was used at this period by any inferior to a superior,—especially in the relation of respectful affection, as by a lover to his 'mistress,' a child to his parent, a student to his teacher, or even between friends,—or as a title of deferential respect to assemblies ('gentlemen'), or to strangers. And so it continued through mediaeval times down to the present day, corresponding to our 'Mr.' (cf. Don and Dom in Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian). But also, even in the first century, there was a tendency to apply the term in a more specific sense to the emperor *par excellence*, and this tendency so far increased that by the beginning of the third century *dominus noster* was one of the regular and formal titles of the emperor (cf. 'Our Lord, the King,' and the differentiated use of 'sir' and 'Sire'). On the whole subject see Mommsen *Staatsr.* II.[3] pp. 760 ff.; Friedländer *Sittenq.*[6] I. pp. 442 ff.

iure trium liberorum: see II. 13. 8 (Sel. 19) n. *trium liberorum ius.*

quamuis: with the subjunctive of a fact; cf. V. 3. 10 (Sel. 36) n. *quamuis.*

Iuli Seruiani: L. Iulius Vrsus Seruianus is mentioned several times in Pliny's letters, and two (III. 17; VI. 26) are addressed to him. He was born in 47 A.D., filled the office of consul at an indeterminable date (but before 98), and then was imperial legate, both in Germany and Pannonia (cf. VIII. 23. 5). In 102 he was again consul (*ordinarius*), and a third time, at the extreme age of 87, in 134. He married Hadrian's sister, and was even thought of by that emperor as his successor (Spart. *Hadr.* 23. 2), but when almost ninety years old was compelled by him to commit suicide *ne sibi superuiueret* (*ibid.* 15. 8).

rescripto: one of three main forms (*edictum, decretum, rescriptum*) under which a *constitutio principis* (legal interpretation, enactment, or decision, of the emperor) might be rendered. The *rescriptum*, as the derivation implies, was usually an answer to an application of some sort made by or through a legally constituted source, and thus is often equivalent to *epistula*. Most of the answers of Trajan to Pliny's letters are technically *rescripta*. See further X. 65. 2 (Sel. 98) n. *constitutionibus principum.*

rogabat: the indicative is used in the subordinate clause in place of the subjunctive because the clause expresses Pliny's

own summary of the reason instead of giving Trajan's express words.

2. felicissimi principatus tui: cf. also Tacitus at about the same time in *Agr.* 3 *augeat quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerua Traianus*; 44 *ei non licuit durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Traianum uidere.*

peculiarem, *especial*: cf. II. 13. 8 (Sel. 19) *quod* [sc. *ius trium liberorum*] *quamquam parce et cum delectu daret, mihi tamen* [i.e. *mihi pro Voconio Romano petenti*] *tamquam eligeret indulsit.*

liberos concupisco: cf. VIII. 10. 3 (to Fabatus) *neque enim ardentius tu pronepotes quam ego liberos cupio.* But of course in speaking as he does to Trajan he is thinking of the possibility of a future marriage (see note below).

illo tristissimo saeculo: *sc.* of Domitian; cf. *Pan.* 80 (of Domitian) *ille optimi cuiusque spoliator et carnifex*, and the characterizations by Juvenal (*e.g.* 4. 37 f.) and Tacitus (*Agr.* 3, 45).

duobus matrimoniis meis: it is most natural to take the *sicut*-clause as modifying the *quos*-clause rather than the *eoque*-clause, and this interpretation is borne out by chronological considerations. Pliny's wife, whose name is unknown, but who was the step-daughter of Vettius Proculus (see IX. 13. 13 n.,—Sel. 64), and perhaps the daughter of Pompeia Celerina (see VI. 10. 1 n.,—Sel. 44), died toward the middle of the year 97 (see IX. 13. 4,—Sel. 64), and the *ius trium liberorum* was conferred upon him early in 98. It is not possible that the marriage with Calpurnia (see IV. 19,—Sel. 34) took place between these two dates, for to say nothing about the brevity of the intervening time, there would be no reason for the grant of the *ius trium liberorum* to a man in the prime of life just married to a young woman, who might expect children in the natural order. Still less would Trajan be likely to grant it under such circumstances, for he was inclined to make the grant *parce et cum delectu* (see II. 13. 8,—Sel. 19; X. 95). Furthermore, if the marriage with Calpurnia actually did take place at this time, letter IV. 19 (Sel. 34), and apparently the whole group of letters to and about Calpurnia, must be very badly and unnecessarily out of place chronologically in the entire series of letters. The only possible belief, therefore, is that Pliny was married three times, twice in Domitian's reign and once (say between 102 and 104) in Trajan's. The first two wives are unknown even by name; the third, Calpurnia, apparently survived her husband (see X. [illegible] Sel. 108).

3. di melius (sc. *fecerunt*): see X. 1. 1 (Sel. 73) n. *di immortales*; and with the ellipsis cf. IX. 19. 1 (Sel. 65) *melius rectiusque*; Tac. *Ann.* IV. 38 *melius Augustum, qui sperauerit*; *Germ.* 19 *melius quidem adhuc eae ciuitates, in quibus*, etc.; *Quint.* X. 2. 24 *aliquid . . . melius alii, plurima ille.* Horace gives the full phrase in *Sat.* II. 6. 3 f. *auctius atque | di melius fecere.*

maluere: *malui*, the reading of Auantius and Aldus, contradicts the sentence above (*quos . . . uolui*), and is hardly consistent rhetorically with *me fieri* instead of *fieri*, since there is here no reason for emphasising the subject (cf. Menge *Repetitorium*[7] p. 285).

patrem fieri: *sc.* by grace of the emperor.

et securus et felix: cf. *Pan.* 95 *si malis temporibus inter maestos et pauentes, bonis inter securos gaudentesque numeror.*

75. (X. 3 A [20].)

Explaining his acceptance of the prosecution of Marius Priscus while holding public office.—The preliminary hearing of the case was in the year 99, probably in the summer or early autumn (see note below), but as the assignment of counsel was made considerably earlier (see II. 11. 2,—Sel. 17,—n. *adesse prouincialibus iussi*), this letter may well date from the latter part of the year 98, evidently some time after Pliny had begun his service as prefect of Saturn's treasury (see note on *uestra* below).

1. domine: see X. 2. 1 (Sel. 74) n. *domine.*

uestra: *sc.* Nerva and Trajan. In *Pan.* 90 Pliny, referring to the prefecture of the treasury of Saturn, says *diuus Nerua ut nos . . . promouere uellet*: in X. 8. 3 (Sel. 77) he speaks of that office as *delegati a uobis officii.* The nomination took place early in Jan. 98 (perhaps on Jan. 9; see IX. 13. 23 n.), Nerva dying on the 27th of the same month. The plural adjective in this and the other place cited may be explained in one of three ways; either (1) that officials appointed by his predecessor were subject for continuance in office to confirmation by the new emperor (so Mommsen), or (2) that Trajan, being associated with Nerva as his colleague since Oct., 97 (see X. 1. 1,—Sel. 73.—n. *patri*), might be said to share in the appointments made by him, or (3), very much more probably, that the nomination to the prefecture was by Nerva (cf. *Pan.* 90 *promouere uellet*), but the office was not actually entered upon until after Trajan's accession, and probably not till about August or October, 98 (see the present

editor's article *On the Date of Pliny's Prefecture of the Treasury of Saturn*, in *Amer. Jour. of Philology*, vol. XXIII. no. 4).

praefecturam aerarii Saturni: see IX. 13. 11 (Sel. 64) n. *praefectum aerarii*, and Intr. p. XXV.

nunquam eram promiscue functus: cf. II. 14. 14 (Sel. 20); VI. 29. 6 ff. (where Pliny states the strict principles on which he accepts briefs, and gives a list of his most important cases).

renuntiaui ut, etc.: so also he declined to plead cases when *tribunus plebis*; see I. 23. 2 (Sel. 14).

2. qua ex causa: see I. 2. 6 (Sel. 2) n. *ex causis*.

patronum me provinciales optassent: charges by inhabitants of a province against their former governor were formally presented by their representatives to the senate, which body was at the same time petitioned to delegate one (or more) of its own number to act as prosecuting attorney for the complainants before the bar of the house, as none but senators had a standing there. In the notable case against Caecilius Classicus, which came to trial while Pliny was still prefect of the treasury, the people of Baetica asked for, and obtained, the appointment of Pliny as their counsel (see III. 4).

contra Marium Priscum: see II. 11 (Sel. 17), where the case is described at length.

ueniam: the procedure apparently was for the senate, or the presiding consul, to designate a number of senators suitable to serve as counsel for the plaintiffs, whose names, inscribed upon lots, were thrown together into an urn (see note below), and the necessary number of names drawn therefrom by chance (cf. the selection of modern juries in certain cases in the United States from a large panel). But if the plaintiffs desired to be represented by specified individuals, and could obtain their consent to serve, apparently only these persons were named, and the drawing became a mere form (cf. III. 4) Pliny, though asked for by the provincials, had declined, and obtained permission from the senate for his name to be withdrawn from the lot.

consul designatus: the trial was held in January, 100 (see II. 11. 10 nn.,—Sel. 17), but the first presentation and the assignment of Pliny and Tacitus as counsel for the provincials must have been made as early as the latter part of the year 98, to allow time for all the intermediate operations mentioned and implied in II. 11. 2-9 to be carried out. At

this time there might be sitting in the senate the consuls-designate for at least the last *nundinum* of 98, Vettius Proculus and P. Iulius Lupus (see IX. 13. 13 n.,—Sel. 64), of whom the former was connected with Pliny by marriage.

nobis: probably not referring to Pliny alone, but to Pliny and Tacitus, who were joined in the prosecution by senatorial appointment (see II. 11. 2,—Sel. 17).

nomina in urnam conici: the common ancient form of casting lots was by shaking marked or lettered counters or blocks, often in an *amphora*, or *situla*, which was filled with water, and taking the single one which alone could rise to the surface in the narrow neck of the containing vessel.

saeculi: see X. 1. 2 (Sel. 73) n. *saeculo*.

amplissimi: the formal epithet of the senate, perhaps originally to distinguish it from the *ordo equitum*: cf. X. 95.

3. constare rationem: see I. 5. 16 (Sel. 4) n. *ratio constabit*.

sanctissimis: see X. 1. 1 (Sel. 73) n. *sanctissime*.

77. (X. 8 [24].)

Asking a leave of absence.—On the date of the letter see § 3 n. *Kalendis Septembribus*.

1. diuus pater tuus: Nerva's memory was honoured by his formal deification by vote of the senate at Trajan's request; see Eutr. VIII. 1. 2 [*Nerua*] *inter diuos relatus est*; *Pan.* 11 *tu sideribus patrem intulisti*, etc.; and IV. 11. 14 (Sel. 32) n. *diui*.

domine: see X. 2. 1 (Sel. 74) n. *domine*.

exemplo: Nerva, within his short reign, remitted burdensome taxes, reduced unnecessary public expenses, purchased large tracts of land and established thereon new colonies of poor people, distributed grain free of cost, made provision for the support of children of the poor throughout Italy, gave public games, cared for aqueducts and public roads, and finished at Rome the Forum Transitorium and accompanying temple of Minerva that Domitian had begun.

in longinquis agris: *i.e.* in his Tuscan or Umbrian villa, more than a hundred and fifty miles away; see § 6, and IX. 36. 1 (Sel. 70) n. *in Tuscis*.

plures successiones, *a number of generations*: cf. I. 12. 4 (Sel. 8) *morbi quoque per successiones traduntur*.

municipium: doubtless Tifernum Tiberinum, of which town he had been *patronus* since his early years,—probably since the death of his father; see IV. 1. 4 *oppidum est praediis nostris* [sc. *in Tuscis*] *vicinum* (*nomen Tifernum Tiberinum*) *quod me paene adhuc puerum patronum cooptauit.*

2. cum plenissimo testimonio, *in most complimentary terms.*

indulserat: the pluperfect in place of the usual narrative perfect (like *scripseram* and *obtulerant* following) appears to be used with reference to *retentus* in § 3, to which it looks forward ('everything had been arranged, but I was unexpectedly detained, and only now can go'). But cf. I. 2. 1 (Sel. 2) n. *promiseram exhibeo.*

decurionibus: see IV. 7. 2 (Sel. 31) n. *decurionibus.*

adsignarent solum: *i.e.* provide a site at public expense, or on land under the control of the municipality. Inscriptions commemorating the erection of public buildings by private munificence frequently conclude with the formula L · D · D · D (i.e. *loco dato decreto decurionum*), or the like.

templum: the choice of a deity to whom the structure should be consecrated appears to have been a matter of indifference. The only public art galleries of the day were temples, and Pliny, giving a collection of portrait-statues to the town, wishes to give the collection proper shelter. The dedication of the temple is referred to in IV. 1.

3. mea: in X. 5 (apparently of the year 98) Pliny asks Trajan to grant Roman citizenship to an Egyptian physician who had cured him of a very serious illness the year before.

patris tui ualetudine: doubtless Nerva's last illness.

delegati a uobis officii: *sc.* the prefecture of the treasury of Saturn, to which Pliny was probably appointed in Jan. 98, but upon the duties of which he did not actually enter till some months after Nerva's death: see X. 3A. 1 (Sel. 75) n. *uestra.*

in rem praesentem excurrere, *to take a run to the spot.*

menstruum meum, *my month's duty*: apparently the two prefects, like the members of other official colleges, took turns in discharging the routine duties of the position. Extraordinary matters or decisions doubtless required the concurrence of both.

Kalendis Septembribus: the year was probably 99. For the series of events that had thus far prevented Pliny from a journey to Tifernum were his own serious illness (toward the end of 97, as may be inferred from this letter and also from

x. 5-7 in their connection), Nerva's fatal illness (he died Jan. 27, 98), and the pressing duties of Pliny's new prefecture (of the treasury of Saturn) on which he probably entered in August or October, 98 (see the editor's article in *Amer. Jour. Phil.* XXIII. 4). At the time of writing the present letter he has been in steady attendance upon his work for some considerable time, and feels that he has earned a somewhat extended holiday. But Sept. 101 (which Mommsen adopts as the date) is much too far removed from the beginning of his prefecture to be the possible date, even if it were true (as it apparently is not) that Pliny was at that time still prefect of the treasury. Moreover such a determination conflicts with the strict chronological order of the letters in Book X. (see Introd. p. xxxviii.), for X. 10 was evidently written shortly before Trajan's return to Rome, toward the end of 99. The mention of this furlough in connection with the case of Caecilius Classicus in III. 4 introduces no difficulty, though the argument about the chronology of that case is too long to be entered upon here.—As Trajan was still beyond the Alps, some weeks must have been allowed for this letter to reach him and for an answer to be returned before Sept. 1.

complures dies feriatos: on which no public business would be transacted. In the month of September fell, besides a number of individual holidays, the great *ludi Romani* (Sept. 4-19).

5. locatio: see v. 14. 8 (Sel. 38) n. *circumibam agellos.*

alioqui, *particularly*: the large amount of revenue concerned makes the business important.

$\overline{\text{CCCC}}$: *i.e.* 400,000 sesterces (about £4375 or $21,000). Apparently the total annual income is meant, though the *locatio* was for five-year periods; cf. IX. 37. 1 f. *cum me necessitas locandorum praediorum plures annos ordinatura detineat, in qua mihi nova consilia sumenda sunt: nam priore lustro, quanquam post magnas remissiones, reliqua creverunt.* Pliny goes on to speak of his new plan as being to let his lands 'on shares' instead of for a fixed rental, whence it may be concluded that the latter had been his custom up to that time, and hence at the time when the present letter was written.

adeo non, etc., *cannot possibly be postponed, for the new tenant should attend to the approaching pruning* (*adeo non . . . ut = tantum abest ut . . . ut*). The grape-harvest (*vindemia*) would be over in October (Varr. I. 34 and Plin. *N.H.* XVIII. 319 say between the equinox and the setting of the Pleiades, —Nov. 8,—though Pliny—*ibid.* 315—notes that the date was sometimes anticipated in his day). This concluded the annual

[illegible] and the rest of the farmer's work for the year consisted chiefly in preparations for the next year's crops. The immediate task was the proper pruning of the vines and the grafting and planting of apples (Varr. *l.c.*), and the new tenants should be established in possession in time to attend to this, as otherwise the next year's yield would be diminished,—and the outgoing tenant could hardly be expected to do this preparatory work, since he would reap no benefit from it.

sterilitatem: the scantiness of the grape-crop is mentioned by Pliny also in VII. 13. 1: IX. 16. 1: and IX. 20. 2.

remissionibus: i.e. cancellings in whole or in part of the indebtedness to him of his tenant-farmers, who were unable to pay their full rentals: see IX. 37. 1, quoted above.

6. debebis: etc., *to your kindness therefore, Sir, I shall be* [illegible] *for the completion of my act of devotion* [sc. in finishing the temple to accommodate the statues of the emperor], *and for the betterment of my affairs, if for both these objects you will grant me ... use of absence for thirty days.*

lapidem: see II. 17. 2 (Sel. 21) n. *lapide*.

78. (X. 9 [25].)

In answer to the preceding letter.

et omnes-publicas causas (*et omnes = et eas quidem omnes*): for the generous adjustment of the interests of tenant-farmers was a matter that concerned public welfare as much as the building of a temple, and the assistance of this class of people had occupied the attention of Nerva, as later of Trajan. Various emendations of the text have been proposed, but none appears necessary.

neque enim dubito te ... reuersurum: cf. IV. 19. 1 (Sel. 34) n. *non dubito fore*.

tam districtum officium: cf. Pliny's words of the same office, apparently in his early incumbency, in I. 10. 9 (Sel. 7) *distringor officio ut maximo sic molestissimo*; and in *Pan.* 91 *in officio laboriosissimo et maximo*.

eius modi honorum parcissimus: Domitian, like some of his predecessors, had been especially fond of such honours, and both Suetonius (*Dom.* 13) and Pliny (*Pan.* 52) comment on the many statues of Domitian in gold and silver in and about the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, Pliny contrast-

ing them with the one or two bronze statues of himself which were all Trajan would allow. Nerva also forbade statues of himself to be made in gold (cf. Dio LXVIII. 2. 1).

79. (X. 12 [7].)

Asking the praetorship for a friend.—The date is indeterminate, but, as the letters of the tenth book are apparently arranged in chronological order, it must fall after Trajan's return to Rome (in 99), and before 102 or 103, the probable date of the succeeding letter.

in hoc quoque, *in this matter also*: apparently the meaning is that Trajan had told Pliny to remind him of his promise when a vacancy occurred or the time for fresh nominations came. But Pliny puts the thing with exceeding delicacy of courtesy, — 'I am sure that you need no reminder, but since you are good enough to permit me to press my request to that extent, I do venture both to remind you, and to emphasise the earnestness of my former petition that,' etc.

Accium Suram: otherwise unknown, though Mommsen (without good reason) would identify him with the Suberinus mentioned in VI. 33. 6.

praetura exornare digneris: with regard to the regular offices of the senatorial *cursus honorum* below the consulship the emperor shared with the consuls the right of *nominatio*,—that is, of passing upon the legal qualifications of such persons as presented themselves as candidates for any given office, and of declaring their eligibility or non-eligibility, in advance of the election. In the case of the consulship the emperor alone had this right of *nominatio*, and regularly named only so many candidates as there were places to fill, so that his nomination was always followed by election. Furthermore the emperor had an independent right of *commendatio*,—that is, of distinctly recommending certain persons for election to any of the offices. In case of such *commendatio* the electors were bound to elect the persons so named, as a cathedral chapter in England is bound to elect as bishop the person named in the letters commendatory from the Crown. But one emperor certainly (Tiberius,—Tac. *Ann.* I. 15), and very probably others, limited himself in the exercise of *commendatio* to a certain proportion only of the posts of each sort to be filled. In Pliny's letters there are indications of contest in the elections, though in this instance Pliny seems to expect the emperor to use his right of

commendatio, or else of exclusive *nominatio*. Since the time of Tiberius the elections were held in the senate, and not by the people in the comitia (Tac. *Ann.* I. 15), though (but perhaps only at intervals) there seems to have been the preservation of a *simulacrum* of comitia, especially in regard to the election of consuls.—See Mommsen *Staatsr.* II.^{3} pp. 915 ff. ; Greenidge *Roman Public Life* pp. 371 ff.

cum ('since') **locus uacet**: apparently by the death of a praetor during his year of service.

bonam conscientiam: see I. 12. 3 (Sel. 8) n. *optimam conscientiam*.

80. (X. 13 [8].)

Asking a priesthood for himself.—Pliny was made augur in succession to Sex. Iulius Frontinus (see IV. 8), and this letter is doubtless his successful application for that place, since an unsuccessful application, if such were possible from him, would certainly not have been included in his published correspondence. *Consulares* were usually promoted to the high priesthoods some considerable time after their service as consuls, and the position of IV. 8 in the body of correspondence, as well as the consideration of some minor points, makes it likely that this letter was written about 102 or 103.

tam boni principis iudicio exornari: cf. IV. 8. 1 *gratularis mihi quod acceperim auguratum. iure gratularis, primum quod grauissimi principis iudicium in minoribus etiam rebus consequi pulchrum est*, etc. ; X. 3A. 3 (Sel. 75).

dignitati: *sc.* the consulship.

auguratum: the college of augurs consisted originally of three members, but by successive increments arrived, under Julius Caesar, at the number of sixteen, where it remained throughout the empire. It was one of the four great priestly colleges (see note cited below), and under the republic attained immense political importance because no great matters of public business could be conducted if an augur, duly called in, declared the will of the gods to be unfavourable, as expressed in due and prescribed form, chiefly by the flight of birds, the flash of lightning, or the lack of voraciousness on the part of hens kept for the purpose of such observations, and fed in prescribed form and at prescribed times. The political importance of the college vanished under the empire, but its dignity remained. See Mommsen *Staatsr.* I.^{3} 76 ff. ; Marquardt *Staatsverw.* III.^{2} 397 ff. ; Pauly-Wissowa *Real-encycl.* II. 2313 ff. (*augures*).

septemuiratum: see II. 11. 12 (Sel. 17) n. *septemuir epulonum.*

quia uacant: the augurship by the death of Frontinus (see introd. note to this letter). The cause of the other vacancy is unknown.

adicere digneris: see II. 1. 8 (Sel. 15) n. *solent nominare.*

81. (X. 15 [26].)

Announcing Pliny's arrival at Ephesus on his way to Bithynia.—Pliny arrived in Ephesus in the hot season, and in Bithynia on Sept. 17 (see X. 17A. 2,—Sel. 83). He remained there at least till after the next winter but one following his arrival, for the usual *uota* upon the anniversary of the emperor's birth, of the new year, and of his accession, are mentioned twice in due order and succession (17A,—Sel. 83,—and 88,—Sel. 102; 35,—Sel. 90,—and 100; 52,—Sel. 94,—and 102), and the chronological series of letters continues for some time after the last letter of this class. His appointment, therefore, had extended over about two years at the time when the correspondence ceases. The inscription in which Pliny's *cursus honorum* appears (see Introd. p. xl.) gives the titles of the emperor without that of *optimus* which he accepted in 114. Pliny's governorship therefore terminated (probably by his death,—see Introd. p. xxviii.) as early as 113. The beginning of his term cannot, therefore, have been later than 111 (and for other reasons also than that specified). It could hardly have been earlier than 108, or probably 109,—if, indeed, as seems certain, all the letters of I.-IX. were written before the appointment; for VIII. 23 must have been written not before 108. Another indication is given by the fact that Calpurnius Macer was imperial legate in Moesia Inferior in the first calendar year after Pliny's appointment (X. 42, 61, 62, 77), and an inscription shows him to have been governor there in the year 112 (*C.I.L.* III. 77). But Macer might have been governor for as much as three years, his term beginning in, say, 109, or as late as 112, and still satisfy the indications of the inscription quoted. And to satisfy the condition specified of contemporaneity of his government with that of Pliny in his second calendar year, Pliny's term may have been as early as 109-111, or as late as 111-113. It seems impossible to fix the date more precisely than this. Trajan appears to have been in Italy during the period of Pliny's office. He had celebrated his great triumph over the Dacians in 107, and does not appear to have left the country again till he started on the Parthian expedition in the autumn of 113.

Pliny reached the province on Sept. 17, after considerable delay since leaving Ephesus (see X. 17A,—Sel. 83). Moreover the *etesiae* were still blowing, and their period was for thirty days from July 20. This letter was probably written, therefore, by about the middle of August.

Ephesum: the great commercial sea-port of Asia Minor, which would be the natural destination of the more important vessels sailing to that country from Italy.

meis: including here his wife and his official as well as personal retinue; but see II. 17. 7 (Sel. 21) n. *meorum*.

ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν: *i.e.* rounding the Peleponnesus instead of taking the shorter and safer course through the gulf of Corinth and across the isthmus by land, embarking again for Asia at Cenchrea. The southern route was noted for danger from storm and piracy, and the Greek phrase may have been proverbial; see Friedländer *Sittengesch.* II.[6] 28 f.

quamuis, etc.: *i.e.* 'I am kept here for the present by head winds; but my intention is to surmount this difficulty by making short stages by sea, as the wind may allow, and connecting these by trips overland. I would make the entire journey by land, but the weather is too hot; I would make it all by sea, but a continuous voyage is impossible by reason of the *etesiae* (as I have intimated above).' The emendation of Stephanus seems unnecessary. Moreover, in X. 17A (Sel. 83) Pliny contrasts the journey after leaving Ephesus in point of head winds, as of other difficulties, with the favourable voyage as far as that place.

etesiae: see Plin. *N.H.* II. 123 f. *ardentissimo autem aestatis tempore exoritur Caniculae sidus sole primam partem leonis ingrediente, qui dies XV. ante Augustas Kalendas est . . . post biduum autem exortus iidem aquilones constantius perflant diebus XXX. quos etesias appellant*; *ibid.* 127 *in Hispania et Asia ab oriente flatus est eorum* [sc. *etesiarum*], *in Ponto ab aquilone, reliquis in partibus a meridie.*

82. (X. 16 [27].)

In answer to the preceding.

animum: as elsewhere, Trajan indicates his friendship by a warmer word. Pliny wrote *curam* ('attention'); Trajan writes *animum* ('regard').

loca, *local conditions.*

83. (X. 17 A. [28].)

The journey from Ephesus to Bithynia.—The date of the letter is fixed as not many days after Sept. 17 by the references in §§ 2 and 4.

1. Pergami: the most important city of Mysia, capital of the realm bequeathed to Rome by Attalus III. in 133 B.C. It was about eighty miles distant in a straight line from Ephesus. Pliny indicates that he had travelled by land thus far, doubtless on the main road that ran northward through Smyrna and Pergamum to Cyzicus on the Propontis. But the rest of the journey from the port of Pergamum (at least as far as Cyzicus) was apparently made by sea, the periodical winds having ceased, though contrary breezes were plenty. From Cyzicus the natural route to Prusa would be by the road that led through Apollonia.

2. natalem (sc. *diem*): the day of Trajan's birth is fixed as Sept. 18 (XIIII. Kal. Oct.) by the calendar of Philocalus, and by the comparison of *Pan.* 92 with Suet. *Dom.* 17. The year is variously given, but was perhaps 52 A.D. (See De La Berge *Essai sur le règne de Trajan*, pp. 299 f.)

celebrare: see III. 7. 8 (Sel. 25) n. *religiosius quam sum.* The celebration of the emperor's birthday (and of that of members of his family) was the duty of a pious people since the time of Julius Caesar; see Marquardt *Staatsverw.* III.[2] p. 268 n. 10, and Henzen *Acta Fratrum Arualium* ind. p. 213 s.u. *natales principum.* The letter referring to the celebration of Trajan's birthday one year later is X. 88 (Sel. 102). On the New-Year vows see X. 35 (Sel. 90), 100, and on the accession-day vows, X. 52 (Sel. 94), 102.

3. Prusensium: Prusa lay in the extreme western corner of Bithynia at the northern foot of the Mysian Olympus, and was the third city of the province, being surpassed only by Nicaea and Nicomedia. It was founded by King Prusias I. in accordance with the plans of Hannibal, who lived as an exile at his court (Plin. *N.H.* V. 148). Its modern representative, Brussa, is a large and important city.

impendia .. excutio: the authority of the emperor (and therefore of his *legatus*) over the local governments in imperial provinces was extreme. Besides those of the city of Prusa (see also X. 23, 70) Pliny regulated the financial affairs and building operations of the cities of Nicomedia (X. 37,—Sel. 92,—41, 49, 61), Nicaea and Claudiopolis (39), Byzantium (43), Apamea (47), Sinope (90), Amisus (92), and Amastris (98).

a priuatis detinentur: by the *lex Iulia de residuis* a person keeping back money the expenditure of which was entrusted to him by the state for a specific public purpose, was compelled to restore the full amount, and furthermore was punished by a fine equal to one-third of the money thus detained (*Dig.* XLVIII. 13. 5). Labeo, however, held him to be guilty of *peculatus*, the punishment of which (*Dig* XLVIII. 13. 3) was *deportatio* (see I. 5. 5,—Sel. 4,—n. *relegatus*), involving loss of civil rights and confiscation of property (*Dig.* XLVIII. 13. 11. 6). The monies Pliny thus recalled in other cities he had difficulty in investing at favourable rates (see X. 54,—Sel. 96). That recalled at Prusa was used in meeting part of the expense of restoring the public baths (see X. 23).

minime legitimis sumptibus: such were the public expenditure for oil at Prusa (X. 23. 2), and at Byzantium for special messengers with complimentary resolutions sent each year to the emperor and to the governor of lower Moesia (X. 43).

4. in ipso ingressu meo: Pliny could hardly be expected to begin work on the accounts of the Prusenses on the very day of his arrival there, nor yet perhaps on the festival of the emperor's birthday. A leeway of two days or so must be allowed, and no strict interpretation of the phrase be insisted upon.

84. (X. 17 B.)

Reporting arrival and asking for a surveyor.—This letter was clearly a postscript to the preceding, despatched a day or two later by another courier. In the uncertainty whether it might not reach the emperor before its predecessor, Pliny repeats here in brief form the news he had before given.

an: cf. I. 18. 5 (Sel. 12) n. *an*.

mensorem: i.e. an *architectus*, or surveyor, whose duty it would be to determine the measurements of the masonwork for which the contractor was to receive payment according to cubic dimensions. For false measurements he was liable to penalty as for fraud (*Dig.* XI. 6. 7).

curatoribus operum: public officials delegated to let contracts and oversee the work. They might connive with the contractor, and draw more money from the treasury than was properly due him under the contract, turning a considerable residue into their own pockets.

ratione: *financial condition*.

cum maxime, *with especial care*: not 'at this precise moment,' which would be NUNC *cum maxime*.

85. (X. 18 [29].)

In answer to the two preceding letters.

1. cuperem: for the more common *uellem*, as also in VI. 6. 1 *si quando nunc praecipue cuperem esse te Romae.*

tuorum: see X. 15 (Sel. 81) n. *meis.*

3. iis operibus, etc.: the most important public work in process of construction at Rome was the great Forum of Trajan, with its magnificent adjacent buildings. The Ostian harbour must have been begun at about this time, and also that at Ancona. Other well-known works were constructed earlier in Trajan's reign.—Pliny was continually asking for architects, surveyors, or the like, and Trajan usually declining to send them, or ignoring the request: cf. *e.g.* X. 37, 38 (Sell. 92, 93), 39, 40.

modo uelis: *modo* is not 'equivalent to *si modo*,' but *uelis* is a hortatory subjunctive of the second person with definite subject (cf. I. 10. 11,—Sel. 7, n. *uenias, permittas*), and is co-ordinated with *deerunt*, thus taking the place of a conditional protasis. Cf. for an analogous use I. 12. 8 (Sel. 8) n. *dedisses.*

86. (X. 29 [38].)

The discovery of slaves among recruits.

1. Sempronius Caelianus: otherwise unknown, but apparently a military tribune or prefect.

tirones: the size of the army was usually kept up at this time not by the levying of entirely fresh bodies of troops, but by the annual supply of new men to fill vacancies in the already existing companies. The best account of the system of levies in imperial times is by Mommsen in *Hermes* XIX. 1-79, 210-234.

seruos: in the earlier days of the republic service in the army was the privilege as well as the duty of Roman citizens only. Even in Trajan's time the regular legions were composed entirely of Roman citizens, though non-burgesses might be admitted to service in the auxiliary troops (and in *legiones I. et II. adiutrices*), and even freedmen might serve in the fleet and the *uigiles*. Slaves had always been excluded from service except in times of great emergency or of revolution, as after the battle of Cannae (Serv. on *Aen.* IX. 544), or in the civil wars under Marius, Pompey, Brutus, and others. See *Dig.* XLIX. 16. 11 *ab omni militia serui prohibentur: alioquin capite puniuntur.*

conditorem, etc. : cf. *Pan.* 6 *corrupta est disciplina castrorum ut tu corrector emendatorque contingeres*; ibid. 18 *quam speciosum est enim quod disciplinam castrorum lapsam extinctamque refouisti*, etc.

2. ut ... ita : the particles stand in that adversative correlation ('although . . . yet') which occurs now and then in Cicero, but much more frequently in later writers.

sacramento (sc. *militari*) : the oath taken by all soldiers, and esteemed of an especially binding character, so that violation of it was *nefas*, and punishable by death : see Dionys. X. 18 *ὅτι πάντες ὁμωμόκασι τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὅρκον, ἀκολουθήσειν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐφ' οὓς ἂν καλῶνται πολέμους καὶ μήτε ἀπολείψειν τὰ σημεῖα μήτε ἄλλο πράξειν μηθὲν ἐναντίον τῷ νόμῳ* (cf. Veg. II. 5); Sen. *Ep.* 95. 35 *primum militiae vinculum est religio et signorum amor et deserendi nefas*. The oath was taken anew on the accession of a new emperor, and renewed on each anniversary of his accession (see X. 52, —Sel. 94), and (at least in the earlier empire) at the beginning of each calendar year (see Tac. *Hist.* I. 55), though Pliny does not mention it expressly then (see X. 35,—Sel. 90; 102).

numeros : a general name for any military troop under a single command (see Mommsen in *Hermes* XIX. 219 ff.). The point here is that until the assignment was made the recruits might be regarded as not fully mustered in. So Pliny in III. 8. 4 remarks that the military tribunate promised Suetonius can be readily passed on to his friend, *neque enim adhuc nomen in numeros relatum est*.

87. (X. 30 [39].)

In answer to the preceding letter.

1. uoluntarii : poverty, and the rewards of the military career, especially to the sons of veterans, induced many to volunteer.

an : on the absence of an interrogative particle from the first member of the double question see I. 18. 2 (Sel. 12) n. *an*.

lecti : the large mass of troops composed of non-burgesses (*auxilia*) was recruited in the imperial provinces by authority of the *legatus* through subordinate officials of equestrian rank (*dilectatores*). Italy and the senatorial provinces were drawn upon for the most part only for legionaries and for the garrison of the capital, and this without conscription, save in exceptional cases.

uicarii: this is the earliest reference to the provision of a substitute by a conscript unwilling to serve, though the practice of allowing such substitution grew to great proportions in later days.

2. inquisitio: the formal examination of conscripts and volunteers as to their civil and physical status.

animaduertendum (sc. *morte*): see note on *seruos* in preceding letter.

probati, *accepted*: *sc.* after the *inquisitio*.

88. (X. 33 [42].)

Proposing the formation of a volunteer fire-company at Nicomedia.—At Rome, where destructive fires were lamentably frequent, Augustus organized as a fire brigade and night-police seven *cohortes uigilum* of a thousand or more men each under the command of a special prefect. But in other places such protection was left to private initiative, or to such *collegia fabrorum* as Pliny wished to organize.

1. Nicomedia: the capital city founded by king Nicomedes I. (264 B.C.) on the north side of the *sinus Astacenus* (a branch of the Propontis). It was the chief city of the province, and under Diocletian, who made it his residence the most important city of Asia Minor, yielding only in later days to the rising glories of Constantinople. Its ruins are still called Isnîkmîd (*i.e.* εἰς Νικομήδειαν), or, more colloquially, Ismîd.

quanquam: see I. 12. 3 (Sel. 8) n. *quanquam*, and VI. 16. 12 (Sel. 45) n. *quanquam*.

Gerusian: a sort of 'old men's home,' or, like the Athenian πρυτανεῖον, an endowed establishment where deserving old men could be cared for free of expense to themselves.

Iseon, *temple of Isis*: the worship of this Egyptian deity had spread through the Greek settlements of the Aegean Sea and of Asia Minor as early as the third century before Christ, following the lines of commerce with Egypt, perhaps because Isis was especially revered as mistress of the sea and guardian of sailors.

2. sipho, *fire-engine*: probably on the principle of a large tubular syringe, with piston; cf. Isid. *Orig.* XX. 6. 9 *siphon uas appellatum quod aquas sufflando fundat: utuntur enim hoc orientales. nam ubi senserint domum ardere, currunt cum siphonibus plenis aqua, et extinguunt incendia. sed et camaras expressis ad superiora aquis emundant.* The alleged eastern

origin of the contrivance probably explains the fact that the word occurs first here in this meaning. *Sifones* are named along with vinegar, mats and mattings, pole-hooks, ladders, sponges, buckets (*hamae*), and brooms as fire-apparatus for a private house by Ulpian in *Dig.* XXXIII. 7. 12. 18.

8. collegium fabrorum: voluntary associations of this sort date often from tolerably early republican days, and appear, like certain of the 'priesthoods,' to have been organized originally on a religious basis. In their form during the late republic they may be differentiated into ritual-clubs, composed of especial devotees of some particular divinity; burial-clubs, chiefly of poor people, to provide a common burial-place and conduct the obsequies of members at common expense; and trades-unions, under which name were often concealed mere political associations. These last caused no end of disturbance in Rome and elsewhere as centres of riot and revolt, and often had to be put down by the stern hand of authority.—*Collegia fabrum*, *collegia centonariorum*, and *collegia dendrophorum* are often mentioned in municipal inscriptions, either separately or jointly; and as *centones*, or especially prepared mattings, were soaked in vinegar and used to protect inflammable objects from fire (Non. 91 a.u.), and perhaps also to smother flames, some scholars are of the opinion that the municipalities were accustomed to organize fire-brigades under these titles. The meaning of *dendrophori* in this connection is not clear; but cf. De-Marchi *Culto Privato* II. (Milan, 1903) pp. 102 ff.

dumtaxat, *only*: see I. 2. 2 (Sel. 2) n. *dumtaxat*.

ne quis nisi faber recipiatur: so that no demagogue might gain membership and manipulate the organization for political purposes.

iure concesso: Trajan had ordered the dissolution of all clubs (*hetaeriae*; see X. 96. 7,—Sel. 104), and none could be formed without his special license; cf. also Marcianus in *Dig.* XLVII. 22. 1 *mandatis principalibus praecipitur praesidibus prouinciarum ne patiantur esse collegia sodalicia* (the section goes on to state that purely religious and benevolent associations may be permitted, but the latter must hold no more than one meeting a month, and no man may be a member of more than one *collegium*).

89. (X. 34 [43].)

In answer to the preceding letter.

1. eas ciuitates: *i.e.* Nicomedia and the cities that lay near it,—especially perhaps Nicaea.

in idem, *for a common purpose.*

hetaeriae: see Gaius in *Dig.* XLVII. 22. 4 *sodales sunt qui eiusdem collegii sunt; quam Graeci ἑταιρείαν uocant.*

inhibeant, *use*: the necessary apparatus is to be provided at public expense, but the owner of property attacked or endangered by fire is to use it himself (through his slaves), and, when necessary, the chance crowd that may gather is to be pressed into temporary service as a fire-brigade. The futility of such a scheme is self-evident, and the proposition is surprising when Trajan's usual practical good sense is considered. But evidently he thought clubs more to be dreaded than fires.

90. (X. 35 [44].)

New-Year congratulations and good wishes.—The date is the January after Pliny's arrival in the province. The corresponding letter of the next year is X. 100, which is the same in substance, though slightly fuller in expression.

sollemnia uota, *customary vows*: cf. Tac. *Hist.* I. 55 *solemni Kalendarum Ianuariarum sacramento*; *Ann.* XVI. 22 *principio anni uitare Thraseam sollemne ius iurandum.* In republican times the consuls on each first day of January went in state to the capitol, offered sacrifices of white bulls (see VIII. 8. 1,—Sel. 57,—n. *Clitumnum fontem*) in payment of vows made the year before for the welfare of the state, and made new vows for the year to come. From the year 30 B.C. additional vows in behalf of the emperor were introduced, and at an early period in the first century A.D. these were transferred to the third day of January (the second being *dies ater*). See Marquardt *Staatsrerw.* III.² p. 266 f.; cf. on the celebration of the emperor's birthday, X. 17A. 2 (Sel. 83) n. *celebrare*; on the anniversary celebration of his accession, X. 52 (Sel. 94).

signari, *sealed* (i.q. *suscipi* or *nuncupari*): the figure is taken from the formal sealing of a legal document that its terms might not be made accessible to alteration without detection.

92. (X. 37 [46].)

An aqueduct for Nicomedia.

1. **HS.** |XXX| CCCXXVIIII: *i.e.* 3,329,000 sesterces (*ter et tricies centena milia et uiginti nouem milia sestertium*); about **£36,400, or $175,000.**

destructus: evidently for the sake of using the blocks of cut stone for building material elsewhere (see § 2), as so many ancient ruins at Rome were destroyed in the middle and later ages.

CC: *i.e.* 200,000 sesterces (*ducenta milia sestertium*); about £2,200 or $10,500.

2. arcuato opere: *i.e.* with the cement-lined channel (*specus*) for the water, open to the air at certain points, carried at a gradual rate of descent from the source to the city upon continuous supports of arched masonry, like those that still remain in the neighbourhood of Rome, as in other parts of the Roman world. The Romans were perfectly acquainted with the principle of hydrostatics that water in a closed pipe 'finds its own level,' and this principle they followed in the distribution of water through lesser mains and service-pipes of lead within the city. But the lack of cast-iron pipes, which would withstand the great pressure of an underground aqueduct, and the demands of their system of settling and filtering the water, and cleaning the conduits, as well as the cheapness of labour, led them to conduct their water-supply into reservoirs within their cities in the form of streams flowing at a gentle rate in an artificial channel.

ne tantum, etc.: *i.e.* the expense of lofty arches of masonry might be saved, to be sure, by leading the water quickly down from the hills to the plain, whence the channel could be built near or below the surface of the ground for a considerable portion of its length (as was the case with some of the aqueducts at Rome); but in that case the water would flow into the city at so low a level as not to supply its upper regions.

manent, etc.: some completed arches of the former work were yet standing, and could be used; certain others had indeed been torn down, but the squared blocks of stone of which they were originally built had not been carried off, and they could easily be re-erected; the rest of the structure might better be built of brick-faced concrete (*opus testaceum*), from motives of economy, instead of carrying out the original plan of building in cut stone (*opus quadratum*, *lapis quadratus*). Pliny follows the fashion of building in Rome, where the earlier form of constructing walls and vaults in solid stone had very largely given way to most remarkably strong and durable concrete, faced with brick, and this again, in the case of more elegant structures, or of interiors, covered with fine decorated stucco, or with incrustations of marble.

3. aquilegem, *aqueduct-expert*: *sc.* to take charge of the building. The word does not occur in Frontinus (though it is found both earlier and later), probably because at Rome the *curatores aquarum*, acting with the advice of *architecti* (Front. *Aq.* II. 119), discharged the duties of this office. But cf. *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* III. 439. 57 *aquilex ὑδραγωγός*; II. 18. 45 (emend. Goetz) *aquilices οἱ τὰ πάρυγρα ἐργαζόμενοι, οἷον ὀχετάριοι, ποταμῖται, ὑδροσκόποι*; v. 342. 5 *aquilici scrutatores aquarum*.—Trajan had before declined to send any architect (see X. 17B, 18,—Sell. 84, 85) and so does not even reply to this request for an expert of similar sort (see next letter).

quod accidit: *i.e.* some jobbery for personal profit (see Trajan's answer below).

saeculo: see X. 1. 2 (Sel. 73) *digna saeculo tuo*; IV. 11. 6 (Sel. 32) n. *saeculum*; I. 5. 11 (Sel. 4) n. *saeculi*: also X. 41. 1 *opera non minus aeternitate tua quam gloria digna quantumque pulchritudinis tantum utilitatis habitura.*

93. (X. 38 [47].)

In answer to the preceding letter.

2. ne, etc., *that they may not go on beginning and abandoning aqueducts with mutual complaisance*: the implication is that the appropriations were managed with the purpose of diverting the funds into the pockets of officials and contractors, who purchased mutual concealment by sharing the spoils.

94. (X. 52 [60].)

The celebration of the anniversary of Trajan's accession.—The letter was written upon or soon after the 27th of January next following the entrance of Pliny upon his governorship. The corresponding letter of the year later is 102, which is couched in similar but briefer terms.

diem: *sc.* Jan. 27; see introd. note to X. 1 (Sel. 73).

seruasti imperium dum suscipis, *you saved the empire by assuming empire*: for a similar sequence of a present indicative with *dum* following an aoristic perfect indicative see V. 6. 1 *ne facerem suasisti dum putas insalubrem* ('thinking it unhealthful'). In such cases the *dum*-clause refers to an act contemporaneous with that expressed by the principal clause, and is entirely dependent of the mental attitude or time of the writer.

generi humano, etc.: cf. the similar expressions in X. 1 (Sel. 73).

incolumem florentemque: cf. X. 1. 2 (Sel. 73) *fortem te et hilarem*; 88 (Sel. 102) *incolumis et fortis*; 100 *te remque publicam florentem et incolumem.*

praeiuimus, *we have administered*: by first taking the oath himself, and then dictating it to his subordinates for their repetition, through whom finally it was administered to all the soldiers.

commilitonibus: the word occurs not infrequently in writings of the empire, but rarely earlier, for the simple *milites*. Julius Caesar is said to have used it as a term of flattery in addressing his soldiers (Suet. *Iul.* 67).

ius iurandum: *i.e.* the *sacramentum militare*, which was taken by the entire army of all grades on the accession of a new emperor, and repeated on each anniversary thereof, and at the beginning of each calendar year; see X. 29. 2 (Sel. 86) n. *sacramento*.

more sollemni, *after the established form*: cf. X. 35 (Sel. 90) *sollemnia uota*.

eädem prouincialibus iurantibus: persons engaged in military service were the only ones who were compelled to take the oath, but others might take it as a voluntary testimony of loyalty (*e.g.* Tac. *Ann.* I. 7), and some instances are recorded of provincial governors administering it, apparently as a requirement, to the populace, or its representatives (Tac. *Ann.* I. 34; Ioseph. *Antiq.* XVIII. 5. 3).

96. (X. 54 [62].)

The investment of public funds.

1. pecuniae publicae: *sc.* such as the funds mentioned in X. 17A. 3 (Sel. 83).

exiguntur: cf. X. 23 *erit enim pecunia ex qua fiat* [*sc.* a public bath at Prusa], *primum ea quam reuocare a priuatis et exigere iam coepi.*

otiosae, *unproductive*: *per contra* to lay out or invest money is *pecuniam occupare*.

nam et, etc.: for little real estate is offered for sale, and borrowers prefer private individuals as creditors rather than the municipality at the same rate of interest,—doubtless because the municipality demanded better security and had more stringent means available to compel prompt payment of interest or repayment of the loans (cf. X. 108, 109).—Investment of public funds in real estate which might be

worked by public slaves or leased was common ; cf. *Cod. Iust.* XI. 70 f. *de praediis ciuitatum* ; Gaius *Inst.* III. 145 ; *Dig.* VI. 3. 1-3 ; Pl. *Ep.* VII. 18.

duodenis assibus : the expression is unique as that of a rate of interest, but must mean an annual rate of twelve asses in every hundred,—that is, twelve per cent., the ordinary expression for which is *usurae centesimae* (*i.e.* one per cent. a month). This is the rate that Cicero fixed for his province of Cilicia as the maximum (Cic. *Att.* v. 21. 11), and it is mentioned as prevailing elsewhere ; though Pliny seems to have considered six per cent. a normal rate in his time in northern Italy (see VII. 18). On the whole subject see Marquardt *Staatsverw.* II.[2] 58 ff.

2. idoneos debitores inuitandos : Pliny had a special duty in supervising public investments, not merely because of Trajan's particular command (X. 18. 3,—Sel. 85), but as a part of his regular functions as a provincial governor ; see Ulpian in *Dig.* XXII. 1. 33 *praeterea prospicere debet* [*praeses prouinciae*] *ne pecuniae publicae credantur sine pignoribus idoneis uel hypothecis.*

nec sic : = *ne sic quidem.*

distribuendam inter decuriones pecuniam : *i.e.* force the decurions to take the money and pay the (reduced rate of) interest upon it. Pliny usually does not originate wildly extravagant notions of administration, but either follows precedents or shows good common-sense and justice. In this case the probability is that such action as he suggests had been taken in Domitian's reign (see the close of Trajan's reply).—The financial burdens of municipal office came to be so great that citizens had to be forced to assume them unless exempted for special reasons (see *Dig.* L. 4-6).

decuriones : see IV. 7. 2 (Sel. 31) n. *decurionibus.*

ita ut recte, etc., *requiring them also to give proper security to the commune* [*for the loan*].

(X. 55 [63].)

In answer to the preceding letter.

modum eius, etc. : the amount of the reduction is to be determined according to the law of supply and demand by the number of intending borrowers.

fortassis : a form (cf. *fortasse*) occurring not infrequently in the MSS. of Cicero, but generally ruled out by his editors, as by those of writers of the following age. But it occurs very frequently in late Latin.

non est ex iustitia nostrorum temporum: cf. X. 97. 2 (Sel. 105) *nam et pessimi exempli nec nostri saeculi est*, where Trajan is referring to Domitian's administration. Nor were public officials compelled to pay interest on public funds left in their charge; see *Dig.* L. 1. 24 *constitutionibus principum continetur ut pecuniae quae ex detrimento soluitur usurae non praestentur.*

98. (X. 65 [71].)

On the civil status of castaway children.

1. de condicione et alimentis: *i.e.* whether infants of free birth (see Trajan's answer) who were exposed by their parents and rescued and reared by strangers lost thereby their condition of freedom; and if they did not lose it, how the persons rearing them could get reimbursement for the expense involved therein; and as few persons would rear these castaways as a purely charitable act (should it be ruled that reimbursement could not be gained by detaining them as slaves), whether and how their support should be provided for by the commune.

θρεπτούς: cf. *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* II. 329. 8 *θρεπτὸς alumnus nutricius*; though the word appears to be used sometimes of an ordinary slave born and reared in the *familia* (Lat. *uerna*), its meaning here is defined in the first sentence of Trajan's answer (see below).—According to the strict logic of the *patria potestas* among the Romans, the father of a child had the right to determine, immediately upon its birth, whether it should be reared or not. In case of his decision in the negative the infant was either put to death or exposed in some frequented or unfrequented spot to whatever lot fate might bring. Slave-dealers found it to their advantage to be on the lookout for such abandoned infants, and other people were often not averse to rearing them for the sake of their later service. The theoretically unrestricted right of the father thus to expose his children was early limited (Dionysius II. 15 says under Romulus), and this legal circumscription in the interests of humanity proceeded until Alexander Severus made such exposure the equivalent of murder (*Dig.* XXV. 3. 4). But it was not infrequently practised during all the ancient period.

2. constitutionibus principum: see X. 2. 1 (Sel. 74) n. *rescripto*. Of the other main forms of the generic *constitutio*, the *edictum* was the successor of the praetor's edict of republican times, but differed from it in being not the statement of a general program of legal procedure and interpretation, but the enunciation often of a single point of law; while

the *decretum* was technically the decision of an individual issue made by the emperor sitting in court. These forms of utterance (like in many cases the *rescripta*) had theoretical validity only so far as the authority of the emperor extended during his own lifetime; but as succeeding emperors came, almost of natural necessity, to regard carefully the precedents of decisions made by their predecessors, the *constitutiones principum* came to have a standing application and force of law, though of course subject to reversal by imperial authority. In Pliny's time this point had hardly been reached; but see Ulpian in *Dig.* I. 4. 1 *quod principi placuit legis habet uigorem . . . quodcumque igitur imperator per epistulam et subscriptionem statuit* [i.q. rescriptum], *uel cognoscens decreuit* [i.q. decretum], *uel de plano interlocutus est, uel edicto praecepit, legem esse constat.*

aut proprium aut uniuersale: *i.e.* either establishing a precedent by the decision of an individual case, or laying down a general course of action.

quod ad Bithynos referretur: Trajan seems inclined to lay stress upon local customs and precedents (cf. *e.g.* X. 69, 109, 113), and Pliny, finding no record of decisions directed to the Bithynians specifically, desires an authoritative utterance (*auctoritatem tuam*), particularly as the matter seemed of too great importance to be determined by mere precedent.

3. recitabatur: *i.e.* looked up and read to him by one of his official secretaries, or perhaps cited by the counsel in a contested case brought before Pliny for decision.

edictum: see note above on *constitutionibus principum*. Edicts, to be sure, usually concerned, if not general principles, at least classes of people rather than individuals, but it is by no means certain that this was always true.

diui: see IV. 11. 14 (Sel. 32) n. *diui*.

ad Anniam pertinens: the omission of the mention of the province within which this unknown Annia lived may be explained by the fragmentary condition of the records or reports which is mentioned just below. But furthermore it is by no means certain that edicts (or other *constitutiones*) were published officially through all the provinces.

epistulae: written directions to some official or people, usually in answer to some petition or representation. In the latter case, especially when directed to a responsible official, they are properly 'rescripts' (see *Dig.* I. 4. 1 cited on § 2).

[Achaeos]: apparently an early gloss on *eosdem*. The emperor would be unlikely to address directly the people of

an entire province, where he was duly represented by the appointed governor, though he might address directly through their magistrates the people of a *ciuitas foederata* like Sparta (see VIII. 24. 2,—Sel. 60,—n. *liberarum ciuitatum*).

proconsules: doubtless of the province of Achaia, within the territory of which lay Sparta and other 'free cities' (see notes on VIII. 24,—Sel. 60). C. Auidius Nigrinus appears also to have been at one time a special legate of Trajan to Achaia: see *C.I.L.* III. 567, = Wilmanns 874.

parum emendatae, *incorrectly copied*.

quaedam [neut.] non certae fidei, *some passages of doubtful authenticity*.

scrinia, *archives*: see VII. 27. 14 (Sel. 54) n. *scrinio*.

99. (X. 66 [72].)

In answer to the preceding letter.

1. **commentariis**, *records*: apparently in the same meaning as *scriniis* at the close of the preceding letter. Cf. also X. 105 *dedisse me ius Quiritium referri in commentarios meos iussi*.

2. **sed intra**, etc.: on Trajan's regard for local usage and regulation see note on §2 *quod ad Bithynos referretur* of the preceding letter.

adsertionem, etc.: in case of the claim of a person that he was illegally held in slavery he was represented before the court of the praetor by an *adsertor* who laid his hand upon him (*manu adserere*) and claimed possession of him in a set form of words. The presumptive owner did the same, and the issue thus joined was decided by the court in settled form (see Gaius IV. 16). Trajan decides that the claim to liberty made in behalf of a slave on the ground that he was born free, but exposed as an infant, and so brought up in slavery, is not to be denied; nor can the person thus declared free be held to the payment of the alleged cost of his bringing-up. Constantine (in 331 A.D.) reversed the decision of Trajan (*Cod. Theod.* V. 7. 1), ruling that the man who rescued and brought up an exposed child acquired a property right in him like that of the *patria* or *dominica potestas*. Justinian however (in 529 A.D.) reverted to Trajan's ruling (*Cod. Iust.* VIII. 51. 3), and even went beyond it, declaring that such a child even though of servile origin should be adjudged free.

100. (X. 79 [83].)

On a question of membership in municipal senates.

1. **Pompeia lege**: Nicomedes III. (Philopator), who died in 74 B.C., left his realm by will to the Romans. Mithradates, king of the neighbouring Pontus, immediately retorted by invading the newly acquired territory, and only after his final subjugation by Pompey (65 A.D.) was Bithynia finally organized as a province, with the addition to it of a large part of the territory of Pontus. The *lex prouinciae* (here called, from the name of the officer promulgating it, the *lex Pompeia*; cf. also X. 112. 1 *lex Pompeia qua Bithyni et Pontici utuntur*; also 114, 115), by which the constitution and administrative forms of the new province were established, was doubtless determined in this case, as regularly, by a commission of ten senators from Rome acting in conjunction with the conquering general, under instructions from the senate. This *lex* was subject to correction and supplement by specific decrees of the senate, or rulings of the governor, or under the empire by the ordinary forms of imperial legislation. Remains of such *leges* are printed conveniently in Bruns *Fontes*.[6]

magistratum: Bithynia proper was divided into twelve *ciuitates* (Pl. *N.H.* v. 143) and Pontus (by Pompey) into eleven. Each of these had its local senate and magistrates, organized doubtless as far as possible upon the model of the Roman municipal governments. But here as elsewhere the Romans doubtless did not destroy entirely already existing forms of local government.

minor annorum triginta: here and in § 3 (cf. also Trajan's answer) *quam* is omitted after the comparative of the adjective without affecting the case of the following noun ('genitive of quality'); in § 4 however the more common construction is employed of the ablative modifying the comparative. Cf. in the *lex Malacitana* col. 1, ll. 62, 65 (Bruns *Fontes*[6] p. 148) *qui minor annorum XXV. erit . . . qui minor quam annorum XXV. erit*; and not infrequently elsewhere.—The quaestorship was at Rome the lowest office of the regular *cursus honorum*, and carried with it admission to membership in the senate. The age-qualification for holding it was in Pompey's time thirty years; and Julius Caesar's *lex municipalis* fixed that age as necessary for the holding of office in a municipality, unless certain military service had preceded (see text in Bruns *Fontes*[6] p. 109). Pompey's *lex* doubtless followed the same Roman principle.

ut qui ceperint magistratum sint in senatu : cf. similarly the *lex Iulia municipalis* ll. 135-137 in Bruns *Fontes*[6] p. 112.

2. edictum : see x. 65. 2 (Sel. 98) n. *constitutionibus principum*.

diui : cf. iv. 11. 14 (Sel. 32) n. *diui*.

Augusti : Dio Cassius (liv. 7. 4) especially refers to his ordering of affairs in Asia and Bithynia in his journey there in the spring of 20 B.C.

minores magistratus : doubtless the two quaestorships which usually existed in each municipality or colony. Two *curatores fanorum* also existed in some cases, but it is not likely that they were necessarily decurions.

XXV. : the age for the quaestorship at Rome, the lowest office of the *cursus honorum*, and the one that gave admission to membership in the senate, had been lowered since the time of the republic from thirty (see note above on *minor annorum triginta*) to twenty-five years, and that seems to have been the prevailing age qualification everywhere else for the similar office ; cf. the *lex Malacitana* col. 1, ll. 60 ff. *dum ne cuiius comitis rationem habeat qui IIuiratum petet qui minor annorum* XXV. *erit . . . item qui aedilitatem quaesturamue petet qui minor quam annorum* XXV. *erit ;* Ulpian in *Dig.* l. 4. 8 *ad rem publicam administrandam ante uicensimum quintum annum uel ad munera quae non patrimonii sunt admitti minores non oportet ; denique nec decuriones creantur*, etc. : et al.

3. censoribus : the ordinary form of municipal organization provided for *duouiri iure dicundo* as the chief administrative officers, corresponding to the two consuls at Rome. Subordinate to these came *duouiri aediles*, all four being sometimes united in a single college of *quattuoruiri*, two with the title and functions of *quattuoruiri iure dicundo*, the other two of *quattuoruiri aediles* (or *aedilicia potestate*). Every fifth year these *duouiri* (or *quattuoruiri*) *iure dicundo* exercised also the functions of censors in revising the lists of members of the local senate (*decuriones*) and of the citizen-body, and in certain financial matters. They were then entitled *duouiri* (or *quattuoruiri*) *censoria potestate quinquennales*, or with some variation of that title down to the most abbreviated form *quinquennales*, or, as here, *censores*. The list (*album*) of decurions was made up by the *quinquennales* from (1) the previous list (excluding those who had been convicted of crime, or had otherwise lost qualification), (2) the magistrates from quaestors up elected since the last revision of the *album* and not already in the *album* (these by virtue of their office

already had seats and votes in the *curia*, but, as at Rome, were not on the regular list), and (3) other citizens (*adlecti*) with due property and age qualifications for at least the quaestorship. See Marquardt *Staatsverw.* I.[2] 151 ff.

honestorum hominum, plebe: these were in imperial times the two legally recognized and distinguished classes of society. The *honesti* (*honestiores*, or other easily understood designations also occur) included Roman senators, *equites*, soldiers, veterans, and their children, and municipal decurions; *plebs* (*humiliores, tenuiores*), all others. Here the *honestorum hominum liberos* would be for the most part, in the nature of the case, sons of decurions.

in curiam admitti: the number of decurions varied for different places according to the terms of the specific *lex municipalis*. A common number was one hundred, but smaller places sometimes had fewer and larger places more than that. In Bithynia there seems to have been difficulty in mustering the necessary number of otherwise qualified *adlecti* of the age of thirty years without drawing upon the *plebs*, and there was a conservative prejudice against *noui homines*, as at Rome.

5. capita, *chapters*: *sc.* those that concerned this matter.

101. (X. 80 [84].)

In answer to the preceding letter.

hactenus: Trajan holds to the safe principle that the later decision nullifies and supersedes the earlier only so far as it expressly contradicts it. Mere *adlecti* must therefore still be of the age of thirty years. and the former practice of admitting them from the age of twenty-five must be abrogated. Nor does Trajan, himself the son of a *nouus homo*, and with thoroughly democratic sympathies, take fright at the idea of enrolling as decurions 'plebeians' who had held no office.

102. (X. 88 [89].)

Congratulations and good wishes on the emperor's birthday.—This was just a year after Pliny entered the province; see X. 17A. 2 (Sel. 83) nn. *natalem* and *celebrare*.

incolumis et fortis: cf. X. 1. 2 (Sel. 73) *fortem te et hilarem*; 100 *te remque publicam florentem et incolumem*; 52 (Sel. 94) *te incolumem florentemque*.

[illegible] : i.q. *magis magisque* ; cf. VII. 8. 1 *alius* [illegible] ; *Pan.* 14 fin. *aliis super alias expeditionis* [illegible] v. 5. 2 (Sel. 37) n. *super*.

103. (X. 89 [90].)

Acknowledgment of the preceding letter.

res publicae nostrae : Trajan very characteristically and justly emphasises the prayers for the welfare of the state, while Pliny courteously and loyally put foremost the emperor's personal welfare.

104. (X. 96 [97].)

On the prosecution of Christians in Bithynia.—Earlier critics have misplaced great ingenuity in assailing or defending the authenticity of this and the following letter, which could never be reasonably doubted.—The Christian apologists, especially Tertullian (*Apol.*), arraign bitterly the logic and spirit of both Pliny and Trajan as therein displayed, but without due reason. It is not at all strange that neither was able to comprehend the religious principle that dictated the 'obstinacy' of the Christians. There was no contact between the respective spheres of thought of the two parties. But Pliny certainly is so far affected by the evident lack of immoral intent in the Christian association as actually to venture to suggest to Trajan a suspension in its behalf of the working of his cherished and sweeping edict against *collegia* ; while Trajan, though naturally and properly insisting on the majesty of law, yet modifies its process so as to throw the burden of prosecutions upon individual accusers, and to make it possible for a governor not disposed to favour prosecutions of that sort, to reduce the cases to very few. On the whole, the rescript is distinctly protective of the interests of Christians, so far as was consistent with the edict against *collegia*. That that disobedience of this edict formed the *gravamen* of the offence of the Bithynian Christians under Pliny's rule seems to the present writer manifestly assured. Other views, which cannot be discussed within the limits of these pages, may be found in Th. Mommsen *Der Religionsfrevel nach römischem Recht* (in *Historische Zeitschrift* vol. XXVIII., 1890) ; W. M. Ramsay *The Church in the Roman Empire* ; E. G. Hardy *Christianity and the Roman Government* ; Bp. Lightfoot *Apostolic Fathers*, Pt. II. ; Th. Keim *Rom und das Christenthum* ; K. J. Neumann *Der römische Staat und die allgemeine*

Kirche; C. F. Arnold *Studien zur Geschichte der Plinianischen Christenverfolgung*; and other works therein cited.

1. **cognitionibus**: differing from the ordinary *iudicia* in that a *cognitio* was an examination conducted of his own motion by the magistrate holding *imperium*, and not limited to any set form, while the *iudicium* was a set trial which regularly required a formal written accusation (*accusatio*) lodged and supported by a voluntary accuser. In either case the magistrate had power to inflict punishment on conviction of criminality.

Christianis: during the age preceding this, and especially in the west, the Romans had great difficulty in understanding that the Christians were anything more than a sect of the Jews, with whom they seem to be continually confused, in spite of the enmity between the two bodies. But in Asia Minor the spread of Christianity and the residence of large numbers of Jews had made the difference between the two clear even to the Romans.

interfui nunquam, *I have never been concerned in*: the phrase itself indicates that such trials were known to Pliny to have been held. It is doubtful, however, if at Rome trials of Christians as such (that is, as clearly differentiated from Jews) had been held during Pliny's mature life. Certainly the so-called persecution of Domitian's reign,—which is referred to by the later Christian writers, but not by others, as a general movement,—seems not to have been directed against Christians as such (cf. Dio Cass. LXVII. 14. 1-3). But that considerable persecution had taken place in the various provinces of Asia Minor is certain, and especially in Asia and Bithynia, where party feeling ran high, among both Jews and heathen. Of the trials in these regions Pliny must have become well informed. And probably in this, as in other questions of his administration, he is not thinking of precedents or practices at Rome, but in his own, and perhaps other adjacent, provinces, upon the specific and local laws and decisions concerning which Trajan is continually insisting that his administration must be founded.

quid et quatenus: *quid* apparently goes with *puniri* and *quatenus* with *quaeri*. *Quid* does not refer to the charge, nor to the crime, but is the neuter 'definitive' accusative become the subject-nominative in the passive construction. Pliny's doubt is sweeping. He does not know what the precedent decisions require either concerning the matter of punishment when Christians are brought to his bar, or concerning the extent to which, under the general police duty especially

incumbent upon a provincial governor (Ulpian in *Dig.* I. 18. 13), he should push the investigation. The more specific points concerning his hesitation about the actual adjudication of cases are detailed in the immediately following passage: his hesitation about the degree to which his inquiry should be pushed is caused by what is later stated, that is, his conviction that the association is at least harmless, if not of a decidedly moral tendency, and his knowledge that its membership is very large. 'One cannot reasonably and justly execute whole masses of good people simply because they are technically violaters of a decree against *collegia*. Would it not be better discreetly to shut one's eyes, so long as no overt or immoral act seems likely to be committed?'

2. discrimen aetatum: Pliny doubtless found that minors were as likely to be brought before him as those of adult years, —as was the case in later and true persecutions. Roman law provided for a lessening of penalties in certain cases on account of the youth or female sex of the culprit; see Mommsen *Röm. Strafrecht*, p. 1042.

quamlibet: see II. 14. 6 (Sel. 20) n. *quamlibet*.

detur paenitentiae uenia: naturally penitence did not change guilt in the eye of the law, but if the breach of law consisted merely in former membership in a *collegium illicitum*, there might well be question whether an earlier consummated withdrawal (see § 6) should not be considered a ground for mercy. The more serious question arose from the fact that the Christians were popularly charged with grave crimes (see below), which might not be forgiven.—The omission of *-ne* from the first member of the second and third of the three double questions is noticeable; but cf. I. 18. 2 (Sel. 12) n. *an*.

nomen ipsum: *i.e.* the fact of membership in the association of Christians as a *collegium illicitum*, irrespective of the inner character of the organization or acts of the individuals. That Trajan had in general forbidden the existence of *collegia* throughout the province is clear from § 7, and the decision of his feeling on the subject is shown by such letters as X. 34 (Sel. 89) and 93. The matter of the Christians probably came to Pliny's attention in the course of his attempts to crush out these ἑταιρίαι, especially in the eastern part of his province, where Christianity seems to have got a stronger hold. He knew that the Christians formed in each community a mysterious and puzzling but widespread and determined ἑταιρία (*collegium*, *sodalitas*). A confessed Christian, then, was indeed condemned by the very name as a member of such a forbidden club, against which form of organization the

efforts of emperor and governor were now especially directed; but the apparently innocuous character of the organization, and perhaps also the willingness of confession, and the incomprehensible fortitude and joy with which—to judge from the reports of other persecutions—the condemned probably went to their death, made a man of Pliny's good sense and kindliness of feeling halt in the plain and simple interpretation and execution of the law, and appeal to the emperor for specific instructions.—There is no reason to suppose that **nomen** has any reference to the Sacred Name, the bearing of which is alleged by later Christian apologists (*e.g.* Tertull. *Apol.* 2) to be in itself declared a crime by the Roman law. At a later date the Christians were indeed punished for their lack of conformity to the established state-religion, but it cannot be clearly shown, in spite of attempts in that direction, that such was the principle of Roman administration at this time (see notes below).

flagitia cohaerentia nomini: see § 7 nn.

3. iterum ac tertio: doubtless adjourning the hearing between times to give the accused opportunity for consideration, as we learn was often done in later trials of Christians elsewhere (cf. *Passio Sanctorum Scilitanorum* 11 ff. *Saturninus proconsul dixit: numquid ad deliberandum spatium uultis? . . . moram* XXX. *dierum habete et recordemini*). Indeed, later, as here, every effort seems to have been put forth by the judges, who naturally failed to comprehend the principle involved, to force a denial from the prisoners rather than a confession, and therefore to find ground for acquittal. Tertullian actually bends his ingenuity to censure the judges for this action. Pliny's procedure seems to have been dictated by humanity rather than, as has been suggested, by the principle laid down by Ulpian in *Dig.* XLVIII. 18. 1. 17 *diuus Seuerus rescripsit confessiones reorum pro exploratis facinoribus haberi non oportere, si nulla probatio religionem cognoscentis instruat* (cf. also of the same chapter §§ 23, 27), for further questioning of the culprit on the spot might bring all the proof necessary.—The adjournments Pliny mentions have nothing to do with those provisions in case of criminal prosecutions at Rome on which see VI. 2. 6 (Sel. 41) n. *comperendinationes.*

duci (sc. *ad supplicium* [*ultimum*]), *to be taken to execution*: cf. *Pass. SS. Scilitan.* 16 *duci iussi . . . et statim decollati sunt.* The penalty of belonging to a *collegium illicitum* was the same as that of armed riot (*Dig.* XLVII. 22. 2), and armed riot was a form *maiestatis laesae* (*Dig.* XLVIII. 4. 1), the punishment of which was death (Paul. *Sent.* v. 29. 1),

humiliores (cf. x. 79. 3,—Sel. 100,—n. *honestorum hominum, plebe*) being exposed to wild beasts (in the arena) or burned alive, while *honestiores* were decapitated.

qualecumque esset quod faterentur: *i.e.* whatever the internal character and purpose of the organization.

pertinaciam ... debere puniri: for to persist that they were Christians was to persist in defiance of the law, and that fixed the penalty of death for membership in a *collegium illicitum*. Pliny was apparently willing, however, to accept a denial of membership, or an abjuration of membership, as the ground for discharge from custody.

4. amentiae: for to refuse to abjure membership in the face of certain death as its penalty could be only a sign of craziness.

adnotaui: *sc.* in recording action on the case.

in urbem remittendos: *i.e.* to be conveyed to Rome to be tried before the emperor's court. While the judicial power of the provincial governor over non-Roman burgesses was practically supreme, he could not, under heavy penalties, punish a Roman citizen even by imprisonment or flogging,—to say nothing of death (Paul. *Sent.* v. 26. 1; Ulpian in *Dig.* XLVIII. 6. 7; cf. the case of St. Paul in *Act. Apost.* 16. 37; 22. 25; 25. 11), but must allow him the right of a hearing at Rome. The emperor might, however, by express delegation, give a particular governor within the limits of his province his own *ius gladii* over even Roman citizens, but this right Pliny does not appear to have had. Later on it was more commonly exercised by governors (see Mommsen *Strafrecht* pp. 243 ff.). Cf. notes on the offences charged against Marius Priscus, II. 11. 8 (Sel. 17).

ipso tractatu, etc.: not merely that one case led to knowledge of another, nor that accusers came forward in greater numbers when their information was favourably received and acted upon, but that, as has been frequently remarked, active measures appeared to stimulate instead of crushing the propaganda.

plures species inciderunt, *a variety of cases came to notice.*

5. libellus sine auctore, *an anonymous information.* It is little to Pliny's credit that he needed the emperor's direction (see the following letter) to disregard such accusations.

praeeunte me, *at my dictation*: cf. x. 52 (Sel. 94) *praeiimus.*

deos appellarent: *i.e.* uttered a brief prayer to the recognized gods.

imagini tuae ... supplicarent: this formal reverence of the emperor as a divine being even in his own lifetime had been earlier initiated, and had met with more enthusiastic acceptance in Asia Minor than elsewhere in the Roman world. To the Christians it was peculiarly abhorrent, for they acknowledged one only incarnation of the Divine.

male dicerent, *reviled*.

quorum nihil, etc.: these tests were common enough in later persecutions as a requirement by which the accused should purge himself from the charge of non-conformity to the state religion. They had perhaps been earlier employed locally and temporarily (especially in the province of Asia, where imperialism was a fanatic cult) for a similar purpose. But there is no indication at all that Pliny employed them as anything else than, according to the information given him by others, an infallible means of determining the truth as to membership in the illicit organization, which fact alone was the one at issue in his examination. The question was to Pliny one of politics, not of religion. That is where he and the Christians were at cross-purposes, and they seemed to him to be simply insane.

7. adfirmabant: the Christians were usually chary about divulging details concerning their more solemn rites, and this for more than one reason: but these perverts had no scruples about telling the whole truth, and Pliny, troubled by the peculiar aspects of the administrative question that confronted him, took occasion to learn from them the real character of the mysterious association for which people of all ages and both sexes were willing to die.

uel culpae suae uel erroris: cf. 1. 13. 5 (Sel. 9) *auditorum uel desidia uel superbia*.

stato die: undoubtedly Sunday.

ante lucem: partly, doubtless, for the sake of privacy or concealment; partly, probably, because most of the Christian community were slaves, or at least working-people, and needed the daylight hours for their labours, from which they could not free themselves even for the Lord's-day (*dies dominica*) festival; but also because in the semi-tropical climate of the East, the coolness of early morning and of evening was the most comfortable time for such gatherings, and also the fitness of beginning the day with worship was readily felt by those accustomed to other rituals where the same form was practised. The custom of an early Eucharistic celebration has held its place in Christian worship, passing from the Eastern to the Western Church.

Christo quasi deo: Pliny doubtless was told as much about the founder of the unauthorized association as at least his friend Tacitus knew (*Ann.* XV. 44), but does not consider the account of any importance. That Christ was now adored as a god would not attract the especial attention of a Roman who was acquainted with the cult of officially deified emperors (cf. IV. 11. 14,—Sel. 32,—n. *diui*), with the vagaries of other sects,—or even with the Euhemeristic philosophy.

carmen dicere secum in uicem: an interesting bit of testimony to the early use of antiphonal hymns, or chants, in the early Church: see also *Act. Apost.* 16. 25 *κατὰ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον Παῦλος καὶ Σίλας προσευχόμενοι ὕμνουν τὸν θεόν*; *Ἐφ.* 5. 19 *λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ*; Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* V. *ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες.*

sacramento: perhaps only in the sense of 'oath.' Pliny supposed of course that the members of so commanding an association were as usual bound together by some such obligation, and ascertained from the backsliders that such was the fact—they, however, referring to general obligations and teachings of morality under their profession, and he to a specific oath, like the military oath (on which cf. X. 29. 2,—Sel. 86). But although true Christians might suppress all reference to the sacred Eucharist in the presence of an unbeliever, these witnesses may have had no such scruple, and there is therefore the possibility that as early as this the Latin-speaking Christians were using the word *sacramentum* for the sacrament that bound them into one brotherhood in Christ, and that Pliny simply failed to comprehend the familiar term in its strange meaning.

non in scelus aliquod: for the unusual degree of clannishness and secrecy of the Christians, and their withdrawal from participation in those popular religious festivals and social life which members of other *collegia* shared in freely, appear to have given rise already to the belief current later that their mystery, because great, was a criminal conspiracy against society. Tacitus says (*Ann.* XV. 44) that the Christians were *per flagitia inuisos*.

ne depositum appellati abnegarent: the lack of banks and a banking system made it necessary on many occasions to entrust the custody of money or other valuables to private persons. Temptations to embezzlement were therefore many.

The law governing in such cases is set forth in *Dig.* XVI. 3; *Cod.* IV. 34.

rursusque coeundi: *sc.* in the evening.

ad capiendum cibum: *i.e.* for the ἀγαπή, or 'love-feast.'

promiscuum tamen et innoxium, *but of the ordinary and innocent sort*: apparently the Christians were already charged with partaking of banquets of human flesh,—a charge brought against them later also (cf. Athenag. *Suppl.* 3 τρία ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῖν ἐγκλήματα, ἀθεότητα, Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις), as against the Jews by Christians in the middle and later ages. The charge may have arisen from the great secrecy surrounding the holy Eucharist, a misunderstood and perverted report of which represented them as eating and drinking the Body and Blood of some Person.

facere desisse: one of the commonest practices of a *collegium* was to have at stated intervals a common meal. On the suppression of the *collegia* the Christians had also so far complied with the law as to give up their ἀγαπή, the holding of which had doubtless been the most patent sign to a Roman of their being a *collegium*. Their weekly Eucharist they of course did not surrender.

edictum meum quo, etc.: this general edict is not specifically referred to elsewhere in the letters.

8. quo magis necessarium: for Pliny could not believe that the association could be so innocent, not to say moral, in purpose.

ancillis: he selects them, not because as women they might be less successful in keeping a secret than men, but because they were (by a misunderstanding) supposed by him to be slaves of the Christian *collegium*, serving therefore at its meals, and perfectly acquainted with its present condition. Apparently the local bishop-presbyter, or the presbyters, who doubtless existed, escaped Pliny's investigation, being perhaps kept in concealment by the faithful.

ministrae: evidently a translation of the Greek διακόνισσαι, 'deaconesses,'—whose service in the community, or their confession of their standing in it under this title, might lead Pliny to understand them to be its slaves.

et per tormenta: for of course they gave evidence that agreed with that of the backsliders, and Pliny was inclined to believe that this could not be true. So he put them to the torture, according to the regular procedure of Roman examinations of slaves, to break down their fortitude. But even then he educed no new information, and so was finally

perhaps convinced of the truth of the information he had.—Under Roman law the *honestiores* (including of course Roman citizens; cf. x. 79. 3,—Sel. 100,—n. *honestorum hominum, plebe*) were not subjected to torture in legal examination; *tenuiores*, being freemen, were but exceptionally put to torture; while slaves were very commonly, if not regularly, tortured in case they were suspected of not telling the truth. They were indeed, at least later, not even allowed to bear witness against their masters except in cases of adultery, of false census-returns, and of treason (*Dig.* XLVIII. 18. 1. 16; *Cod.* IX. 41. 1); but slaves of a municipality or of a corporation might, even long before Ulpian's time, be examined under torture in capital cases affecting a citizen of the municipality or a member of the corporation (*Dig.* XLVIII. 18. 1. 7).

superstitionem pravam: Tacitus (*Ann.* XV. 44) calls it *exitiabilis superstitio*, Suetonius (*Ner.* 16), *superstitio nova et malefica*.

ideo: for he could not calmly send to death for a technical offence such a large number of persons guilty of and threatening no actual crime other than that of membership in a forbidden association, which, indeed, had given up its most distinctive mark of existence, the common meal.

ciuitates: here the cities as distinct from the villages (**uicos**), and from the open country (**agros**) with only scattered dwellings. Politically, however, villages and country in the province belonged to the territory of some *ciuitas*; see Marquardt *Staatsverw.* I.[2] p. 501.

quae, etc.: a good example of the adversative relative-clause.

10. prope iam desolata: probably a much exaggerated expression, due to the highly-coloured representations of the persons whose trade seemed to be endangered by the growth of Christianity (cf. *rarissimus emptor inueniebatur*, and the riot of the silversmiths of Ephesus described in *Act. Apost.* 19. 21 ff.).

pastum uictimarum: *i.e.* fodder and pasturage for the cattle that were brought into the city from the country to be offered in sacrifice.

uēnire, *finds a market*.

sit paenitentiae locus: not merely by pardon on condition of immediate abjuration (for pending Trajan's decision—see § 2—Pliny seems to have administered on this sensible principle), but by not pushing the law to the extreme, thus allowing time for a change of heart to supervene.

105. (X. 97 [98].)

In answer to the preceding letter.

1. neque enim in uniuersum aliquid : not with reference to applicability throughout the Roman world,—for Trajan is always insisting on the necessity of decisions according to local conditions,—but to the prescription of a full system of procedure to be followed in every case, such as Pliny would like to have. With Trajan's wariness on this point cf. x. 113 *in uniuersum a me non potest statui : id ergo quod semper tutissimum est, sequendam cuiusque ciuitatis legem puto.*

2. conquirendi non sunt : this is in answer to Pliny's question about *quatenus quaeri* in § 1 of the preceding letter. The governor is thus relieved in the case of Christians of the necessity that rested upon him under his general commission of ferreting out all malefactors on his own initiative (cf. *Dig.* I. 18. 13). What follows answers Pliny's question about *quid puniri.*

si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt : Pliny seems to suggest at the close of his letter that the legal penalties should be suspended or modified, though the jurists appear to have taught that penalties should be aggravated rather than lessened in the face of an increase in the number of offenders (*Dig.* XLVIII. 19. 16. 10 ; *Coll.* 11. 7 ; Paul. *Sent.* v. 3. 5 ; *Cod.* IX. 20. 7). Trajan replies that the law must be enforced in case Christians are brought before the court ; but the process is not to be by *cognitio* but by regular *iudicium*, requiring prosecution by a voluntary accuser legally responsible for proving his charge. On informal and anonymous information the governor is not to act. Moreover, the accused may purge himself of the accusation by the worship-test adopted by Pliny.

supplicando dis nostris : here also it is to be noted that this action of conformity to the state religion is not insisted upon for itself, but merely as a convenient and sufficient experimental proof that the accused is not a member of the *collegium illicitum.*

nostri saeculi, *the spirit of our times* : see x. 55 (Sel. 97) *non est ex institia nostrorum temporum* ; and on *saeculi*, IV. 11. 6 (Sel. 32)*n. *saeculum*, and I. 5. 11 (Sel. 4) n. *saeculi.*

106. (X. 116 [117].)

On the danger of certain promiscuous entertainments.

1. uirilem togam sumunt : see I. 9. 2 (Sel. 6) n. *officio togae uirilis.*

nuptias: see I. 9. 2 (Sel. 6) n. *sponsalia, nuptias.*

ineunt magistratum: see I. 5. 11 (Sel. 4) n. *in praetoris officio.*

opus publicum dedicant: *i.e.* formally pass over to public use some building or other construction which they have built at their own expense, or perhaps (as inscriptions often indicate) over the construction of which they have had supervision (cf. X. 81. 1).

bulen: i.q. *senatum* or *curiam*; in this Greek-speaking province the Greek terms were often used for the Latin.

e plebe: see X. 79. 3 (Sel. 100) n. *honestorum hominum, plebe.* Here, however, *plebs* seems to be practically used as opposed to *decuriones*; cf. also in *Dig.* XXII. 5. 3 pr.; XLVIII. 19. 9. 14, 15; L. 4. 7 pr.; *Cod.* I. 55. 5.

uocare: *sc.* to a banquet, such as the emperors themselves had been accustomed to give on a large scale at Rome to great numbers of the populace (Suet. *Aug.* 74; *Tib.* 34; *Claud.* 32; *Ner.* 16; *Vesp.* 19; *Dom.* 7, 21). Inscriptions from various places also mention similar celebrations, on such occasions, for example, as the dedication of a temple. Sometimes a dinner was given, sometimes a money-dole in lieu of a dinner, and sometimes both. See *index* to Wilmanns *Exempla* p. 664 s. u. *Praebentur*; Friedländer *Sittengesch.*[6] I. pp. 164 ff.; Marquardt *Privatleben*[2] pp. 208 ff.

binosque denarios uel singulos: perhaps, as on some of the occasions mentioned in the inscriptions referred to above, the *honestiores* received the larger and the *plebeii* the smaller sum, or the different sums refer to different occasions. Perhaps also the money was in lieu of an actual dinner. A single *denarius* (about 10½d., or 21 cts., at this time), or more up to five denarii, was a common sum to give as such a gift.

dianomes: cf. *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* II. p. 273 διανομή *diuisio, distributio*: used here of such entertainments and distributions of money to secure votes as were forbidden by law; cf. in late republican times at Rome the *lex Calpurnia de ambitu* of 67 B.C., and the more severe *lex Tullia* of 63 B.C., as well as the frequent action against *sodalitates* and *decuriae*, and against the employment of *diuisores*.—The *lex coloniae Genetiuae* (*lex Vrsonensis*) contains specific provisions that no candidate for office shall, in the year of his candidacy, make gifts of money or other things to win votes, or shall even give dinner-parties of more than nine persons (the full number for one *triclinium*); and the laws for Bithynian towns may have

contained similar provisions (see *lex Urson.* c. 132, in Bruns *Fontes*[6] pp. 139, 140). At Rome the senate had lately decreed '*candidati ne commmentur, ne mittant munera, ne pecunias deponant*' (VI. 19. 1). Pliny fears that these feasts and presents may be perverted to political purposes.

107. (X. 117 [118].)

In answer to the preceding letter.

quasi per corpora: *i.e.* as if the invitation were to organizations rather than to individuals of the host's acquaintance. Such *corpora* were the organized political clubs which had caused so much trouble at Rome and in the provinces.

singulos: there is a slight anacoluthon, this word, with its accompanying *uiritim ex notitia* corresponding in rhetorical construction to *per corpora*; *contrahit* therefore needs the object *homines*. But Trajan's rhetoric generally is straightforward rather than precise.

ad sollemnes sportulas, *for the customary douceurs*: *i.e.* the occasions and forms of celebration are the ordinary ones of marriage, inauguration, and the like; but the scope of the invitations is abnormal. In **sportulas** Trajan uses the ordinary word for the regular dole of a patron to his clients (see II. 14. 4,—Sel. 20,—n. *sportulae*; Friedländer *Sittengesch.* I.[6] 438 ff.), and it is also used of such general distributions as these in many of the inscriptions referred to in the note on *uocare* in the preceding letter.

sed ego, etc.: Trajan apparently approves some government supervision of these unusual entertainments, but in accordance with his custom declines to prescribe himself precise regulations, leaving that to the governor on the spot.

108. (X. 120 [121].)

Explaining why he gave his wife an official passport.—The number of letters intervening between this and the last which can be dated (X. 102, of the second Jan. 27 after Pliny's arrival in the province) indicates that the year was probably somewhat advanced when it was written.

On Pliny's death see Introd. p. xxviii.

1. diplomata: beginning with the time of Augustus official communication between Rome and the provinces was facilitated by the establishment of a regular posting-system along all the

chief roads. Head stations were maintained a day's journey apart (*mansiones*) with facilities for accommodating official travellers and messengers over night, intervening stations at proper intervals (*mutationes*) provided for changes of horses, and when necessary of carriages, and a body of messengers (*speculatores*) made quick carrying of letters possible. This provision for rapid transit could be used by officials, or by other persons travelling on public business who held *diplomata* ('passports') granted, each for a definite and limited time (apparently a calendar year) and to a specified person by the emperor himself or by provincial governors, to whom the emperor sent periodically a supply of blank forms signed by himself. Cf. x. 45, 46, 64; Hudemann *Geschichte des römischen Postwesens*; Hirschfeld *Verwaltungsgeschichte* pp. 98 ff.

commodaui: *i.e.* granted as a favour, the traveller's business not being official.

misi: *i.e.* despatched a messenger fortified with a passport.

2. uxori: Calpurnia, on whom see IV. 19 (Sel. 34) nn.

aui: Calpurnius Fabatus, on whom see IV. 19. 1 (Sel. 34) n. *auo*.

amitam: Calpurnia Hispulla, on whom see *l.c.* introd. note.

quasi consulto te non dubitaui facere, etc., *I did not hesitate to take action as though I had consulted you, since, if I had consulted you, I should have taken action too late.*

109. (X. 121 [122].)

In answer to the preceding letter.

officio tuo dedi: see X. 46, and n. on *diplomata* in the preceding letter.

READINGS IN KEIL'S EDITION OF 1870 THAT DIFFER FROM THOSE IN THIS EDITION.

I. 1. 1 epistulas siquas
1. 1 curatius
2. 1 ante] umquam
2. 4 esse non tristes
3. 1 subiectus et seruiens
3. 2 si te possident
3. 3 tempus est enim
3. 4 exclude
5. 3 ego Crasso
5. 5 respondebo inquam si de hoc
5. 8 ferre
9. 5 nemo apud me quemquam
10. 5 tamen mihi
10. 12 bono
12. 2 arcessita
12. 12 firmissimi mortem
15. 2 alica
15. 3 comoedos
16. 4 in orationibus est tantum] tamen
16. 5 Caluus re uera quales Catullus aut Caluus quantum
16. 6 dignus qui
16. 9 uidere adloqui audire complecti
18. 4 adeo
20. 2 sunt
20. 8 repurgata
20. 13 amplectitur
20. 14 elegit
20. 15 ubi ille iugulum
I. 20. 24 debeam tuae
20. 25 confirmabis errare
22. 2 doceri] discere
23. 2 me aliquid

II. 1. 1 ciuis perinde
1. 12 uolui ciues aliquos
6. 4 fieri potest quia
11. 23 λειτούργιον
12. 1 λειτούργιον
12. 4 aequari et summotum
13. 3 conuerte te
13. 4 primis citerioris ipse flamen
14. 2 pauci cum quibus iuuet
14. 3 adulescentibus
14. 6 here
14. 12 teneris] taetris
17. 2 recessit
17. 4 egregium aduersus
17. 12 uillas amoenissimas
17. 16 singulae sed alternis panciores uentis inquietus
17. 20 [cryptoporticus horti]
17. 29 eum] iam
20. 8 bona morte

III. 1. 2 confusa adhuc

chief roads. Head stations ... apart (*mansiones*) with faciliti... travellers and messengers ... proper intervals (*mutationes*) ... and when necessary of carri... (*speculatores*) made quick carr... provision for rapid transit ... other persons travelling on publi... ('passports') granted, each fo... (apparently a calendar year) ... emperor himself or by provinc... emperor sent periodically a supp... himself. Cf. x. 45, 46, 64; Hude... *Postwesens*; Hirschfeld *Verwalt...*

commodaui: *i.e.* granted ... business not being official.

misi: *i.e.* despatched a ... port.

2. uxori: Calpurnia, on whom...

aui: Calpurnius Fabatus, on ... n. *auo*.

amitam: Calpurnia Hispull... note.

quasi consulto te non dubit... *hesitate to take action as though I* ... *I had consulted you, I should hav...*

109. (X. 121

In answer to the preceding letter...

officio tuo dedi: see x. 46, an... preceding letter.

V. 3. 5 [illegible]
14. (address) [illegible]
16. (address) [illegible]
16. 2 [illegible]
19. (address) [illegible]

VI. 4. 4 [illegible] omnia [illegible]
16. [illegible]
16. [illegible]
20. 14 infantum

VII. 4. 7 [illegible] iambos
4. 8 oratione
9. 14 defuncti
27. 8 et iam

VIII. 4. 4 non detur
4. 8 magisque laudabo
8. 1 Clitumni
8. 2 exit fons eluctatusque quem facit gurgitem lato gremio patescit
20. 4 uiridi * or
20. 5 figura ac modus
20. 1 aut nescire melius

IX. 13. 4 primus ille [illegible]
13. [illegible]
13. [illegible]
[illegible] laudari
[illegible] iterum
[illegible] nauigabile
[illegible] insilit
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] ad spectaculum
[illegible]

X. 36. 5 lasso
40. 3 nunc *om.* perdant.

X. 2. 3 maluerunt
9. 1 [omnes]
15. retentum
18. 1 ei] [ut]
18. 2 eos [dem]
18. 3 sufficienter
29. 1 militari *ita* nondum
30. 2 dies [pro] quo
33. 3 utantur
34. 1 eam ciuitatem uexatam fuerint... hetaeriaeque breui fient
37. 2 agenda
37. 3 et] sed
38. dum inter

X. 54. 2 ne sic *quidem*
65. 3 emendata
66. 2 intra] inter rescripsit † inter quas est Bithynia
79. 2 xxv] duobus et uiginti
79. 3 magistratum
80. carissime ... ut existimo xxv] duorum et uiginti
96. 7 *coeundi*
120. 2 eius quamquam inconsulto te *facere* quae si
121. nec dubitandum fuit *tibi facere quae sero fecisses* si exspectasses donec

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